

THE NOVELS
AND
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
OF
DANIEL DE FOE.

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, LITERARY
PREFACES TO THE VARIOUS PIECES, ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES, ETC.,
INCLUDING ALL CONTAINED IN THE EDITION ATTRIBUTED TO

THE LATE SIR WALTER SCOTT,

WITH CONSIDERABLE ADDITIONS.

VOL. XVIII.

THE COMPLETE ENGLISH TRADESMAN.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

AN HUMBLE PROPOSAL, &c.; AUGUSTA TRIUMPHANS; AND
SECOND THOUGHTS ARE BEST.



OXFORD:

PRINTED BY D. A. TALBOYS,

FOR THOMAS TEGG, 73, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON.

1841.

THE COMPLETE
ENGLISH TRADESMAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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THE
Complete *English* Tradesman:

Directing him in the several

PARTS and PROGRESSIONS

OF

T R A D E ,

From his First

Entering upon Business, to his Leaving off.

Particularly with regard to

Diligence,	Partnership,	Book-keeping,
Over-trading,	Trading Frauds,	Monopolies,
Diversions,	Fine Shops,	Combinations,
Expensive Living,	Credit,	Under-selling,
Suretipship,	Punctuality,	Engrossing,
Early Marrying,	Borrowing Money,	Litigiousness,
Compositions,	Discounting,	Projects, &c.

With useful GENERALS in TRADE,

DESCRIBING

The Principles and Foundations of the *Home Trade* of
Great Britain: With TABLES of the *British* Manufactures,
Product, Shipping, Land-Carriage, Importation,
Home-Consumption, &c.

*Calculated for the Use of all our Inland Tradesman,
as well in the CITY as COUNTRY.*

In Two VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. RIVINGTON, at the *Bible* and *Crown*
in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

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TO WHICH ARE ADDED :

AN HUMBLE PROPOSAL TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND, for the Increase of their Trade, and Encouragement of their Manufactures ; whether the present uncertainty of Affairs issues in Peace or War.

AUGUSTA TRIUMPHANS : or, the Way to make London the most flourishing City in the Universe.

FIRST,

By establishing an University where Gentlemen may have Academical Education under the Eye of their Friends.

II. By an Hospital for Foundlings.

III. By forming an Academy of Sciences at Christ's Hospital.

IV. By suppressing pretended Madhouses, where many of the Fair Sex are unjustly confined, while their Husbands keep Mistresses, &c., and many Widows are

locked up for the sake of their Jointure.

V. To save our Youth from Destruction, by clearing the Streets of impudent Strumpets, suppressing Gaming Tables, and Sunday Debauches.

VI. To save our lower Class of People from utter Ruin, and render them useful, by preventing the immoderate use of Geneva : with a frank Explosion of many other common Abuses, and incontestible Rules for Amendment.

Concluding with an effectual method to prevent Street Robberies ; and a Letter to Coll. Robinson, on account of the Orphans' Tax.

SECOND THOUGHTS ARE BEST : or a further Improvement of the late Scheme to prevent Street

Robberies : by which our Streets will be strongly guarded, and so gloriously illuminated, that any part of London will be as safe and pleasant at Midnight as at Noonday ; and Burglary totally impracticable : with some Thoughts for suppressing Robberies in all the Public Roads of England, &c. Humbly offered for the good of his Country, submitted to the consideration of the Parliament, and dedicated to his sacred Majesty King George II.

THE COMPLETE ENGLISH TRADESMAN.

CHAP. XXXII.

Directions for the method and manner of the tradesman's keeping his books.

It being of so much importance to a tradesman, as we have set forth in the preceding chapter, for him to keep his books exactly, and once a year to cast up his shop, let us now proceed to show how this is best to be done.

In order to form a general method for this keeping books, we must first acknowledge that there is so great a variety in the tradesman's business, according as to what particular trade he follows, and what goods he deals in, that it would require several different schemes of book-keeping to be laid and calculated for those employments respectively ; but this being impracticable in a work of this compass, I shall only take notice, that two heads seem to comprehend all the tradesmen, to whom these sheets have been directed ; the wholsesale tradesman frequently called a warehouse-man, or factor ; and the retail tradesman, as frequently called in this

work a shopkeeper ; and the same method of book-keeping, with some small variation, may be sufficiently instructive to them both.

The main part of the shopkeeper's book-keeping is, to keep an exact and well-balanced account of his money. By well-balanced, I am to be understood, constantly cast up ; whether daily, as in bankers' and money-dealers' ; or weekly, as where the cash is committed to servants ; or, at most, monthly, in all other cases ; and not only the book cast up and brought to a foot, and a balance drawn between the cash paid and received ; but the money and the book examined one by another, and brought to agree ; for if the cash-chest or box, and the cash-book, do not agree to a farthing, there must be a mistake somewhere, as I observed before.

Next to an exact keeping of cash, the tradesman is chiefly concerned in keeping an exact entry of all goods sold out and received in upon credit.

Goods sold must always be entered in the book before they are delivered, and the bill of parcels of the particulars should not be taken from the goods, but from the book, and then be examined by the goods as they are laid out for sending away, or for packing up. This making the bill of parcels or invoice from the book is a valuable rule, because it secures the entering of the parcel in the book ; for then no book-entry, no bill of parcels ; and the examining the bill of parcels again by the goods, not the book, is another valuable rule, because it is a just check upon the book, and a sufficient proof that the entry is exact.

This book, in which all goods are entered which the retailer sells upon trust, is not improperly called a day-book, because it contains a daily entry of goods sold in the shop ; and the flying title upon the top of every page should contain the day of the

week, month, and year, when everything was done : thus,

MONDAY, JAN. 10th, 1737.

And if the day ends in any part of the leaf, a line should be drawn across the whole leaf, and through the columns ; and in the middle of the leaf, that is, between the ruled lines, a new head should be made for the newly begun day, with a short line under it, thus,—

TUESDAY, JAN. 11th.

For the entry of goods received, especially such as are taken in at times, though it is not so absolutely necessary to the tradesman as that of entering goods sold, yet it is many ways necessary, and still many more ways useful to him ; and though I know many do omit it, contenting themselves with only putting up the bills of parcels upon a file as they come, which they say is a book ready written to their hands ; notwithstanding, I would advise the careful tradesman not to omit a due entry of goods bought, as well as of goods sold, in his book, if he would have his affairs be carried on regularly and exact. As to keeping a file instead of a book, there is nothing of method in it ; it is little more than a tally without a counterpart ; the tradesman ought to enter his goods bought, in his journal or day-book, and then lay up or file up the bills too ; then every-thing passes due examination ; his book is a regis-ter for him, and the file is a voucher to his book ; the omission is nothing but indolence and sloth.

The distinction between goods bought and goods sold, as entered in the tradesman's journal or day-book, is ordinarily done by casting up the value by

itself, short of the red lines ; that is to say, without carrying it into the columns, as the goods sold are ; not that this is counted methodical in merchants' books ; but as we are now talking of a business a little lower-sized than that of merchants' accounts, where the articles are generally large, and sound big, it has been judged very useful, in order to guide the eye with more readiness to find out and distinguish small articles, and not overlook them, either in posting, or on other occasions.

Thus, then, the first plan of a tradesman's book-keeping is resolved into a cash-book and a day-book ; but before I go on to the larger book I must observe, that there are two small books, though both inferior to these, yet in their kind as needful, and, where the tradesman has a large business, and not too many hands, absolutely necessary.

1. A petty cash-book : this is a page or footman to the great cash-book, and is to enter all small, trifling payments in, to avoid enumerating particulars of so little value in the larger book.

If the tradesman has any apprentice, this book is often committed to him ; and his master gives him out ten or twenty shillings, more or less, at a time ; and leaves him to pay post-letters, porters' wages, and such trivial things, and to give up his accounts every three days, or once a week, as his master pleases.

The keeping this little trust is very advantageous to a young servant, to introduce him early into an exact keeping his books ; but it may prove at the same time a snare to a young man if the master is remiss in taking his accounts, and he finds himself at liberty to put down here a sixpence, and there a shilling, upon several articles of expenses, more than was really expended ; and the lad having once made a hole in his conscience, the devil never fails push-

ing him upon it, till he comes to greater matters, and so at length to his ruin ; the whole of which may be prevented by this one necessary check, viz., to take his apprentice's account of petty cash constantly twice a week, and examine it with exactness.

2. The next book, which is, as I say, attendant on the other, is called by some a minute-book, by others a blotting-book ; and this is needful where the tradesman is in a great flowing business, in the hurry of which he has not time or hands to make a formal entry of things in the journal or day-book ; so, in the utmost hurry, an entry is made here ; and in the evening, when business is over, this is entered fair into the day-book ; and then the rough entry in the blotting-book is struck out, as if blotted or erased.

I know merchants and some other tradesmen who are very exact, keep what they call a waste-book, besides their journal ; but there are many reasons given for that, which will not hold in this case ; particularly because a merchant's journal not only enters the article fair, but states the main, and, in some cases, most difficult part of every article of buying or selling, namely, to whose debt it is to be placed ; and therefore a merchant's waste-book is in the room of the tradesman's day-book ; and very often merchants, who have a considerable weight of business on their hands, keep a blotting-book or minute-book besides, that the waste-book may be kept fair.

But in the tradesman's or shopkeeper's business there are few or no difficulties of this kind ; whoever he buys of he is debtor to them, and whoever buys of him is his debtor ; and this is the sum and substance of his book-keeping, which has more care than difficulty in it. And indeed the exactness and

carefulness of making due and daily entries of everything that is done, is the principal weight that lies upon a tradesman's hands.

Having thus prepared—

1. A cash-book, for entry of all money paid and received in his way of trade;
2. A petty cash-book, to enter small expenses into, and what you may not think worth troubling your great cash-book with;
3. A day-book or journal, wherein to enter every-thing taken in or delivered out;
4. A blotting-book, or preserver of the memory, for the other to be recopied after the shop or ware-house is shut, and the trade and hurry of the day is over;

It is needful now to give the tradesman a brief specimen of all these, for his particular instruction, and to guide the hand of a young beginner to the practice of a thing so absolutely necessary to him in his business.

I shall suppose the shopkeeper to be a mercer in the city of London; and this I do, because as this is one of the chief and most considerable businesses in the shopkeeping way, a great variety presents it-self to our view; only for the present purpose I am to suppose that the mercer, as he has a great shop, and a vast retail trade, so he has some wholesale trade also, and deals with several other tradesmen too, whom he gives credit to in the way of his busi-ness.

Here also I am to lay down a general maxim in retailer's book-keeping; namely, the goods sold for ready money in the shop are never entered as sold in the books; it would be next to impossible for the mercer or draper who cuts in retail, to enter in a book every yard of linen, or silk, or stuff in his shop, that every customer comes for.

The summary way, therefore, which is taken by all tradesmen of note, who understand book-keeping, is to take care that all the money taken in the shop be immediately and carefully put into the till or drawer appointed for that purpose ; and when the shop is shut up, to take out the money, tell it up into a sum, which should always be the master's particular work ; and be it more or less, it makes but one line in his cash-book for every day's trade, as by the following specimen will appear :—

JANUARY,

CASH Dr.

Sat. Jan. 1.

	£. s. d.
To the balance of the last month's cash, being so much remaining in hand De- cember 31st	347 18 0
1 To John Jennings, of Nottingham, per bill on Jer. Palmer, received this day	160 0 0
To William Thomas, on account	35 0 0
To the Lady Jeffery, sent by her servant .	31 10 0
To retail cash, being money taken in the shop this day, though New-year's day .	33 17 6
3 To Jos. Duncan, of Edinburgh, by bill on James Graham, received this day	172 0 0
To Will. Eaton, of Windsor, on account .	41 0 6
To Abraham Miller, senior	73 0 0
To sir W. Aubin, on account	13 13 0
To Jer. Brooks, in full	54 7 0
To the Widow Ems, in full	3 12 0
To retail cash, taken in the shop this day	87 13 0
4 To W. Rental, trustee of a statute of bank- rupt for the first payment or dividend of Hugh James's estate	32 11 0
To Arthur Jenks, esq., in full for his mourning	198 7 5
To Will. Hermes, of Exeter, received by the carrier at the Bell in Friday-street	63 0 0
To John Serricur, in full	75 2 0
To Madam le Force, on account of her servant's mourning	39 17 0
To Abraham Rouceil, in full	18 5 0
To retail cash taken in the shop	92 11 0
	<hr/>
	Carried over £ 1573 4 5

ANNO, 1737.

		CASH	Cr.
		£.	s. d.
1	By John Indico, dyer, paid him in full .	113	0 0
	By Tim. Drawboy, weaver, paid him .	70	0 0
	By Mary Thomas, mackler . . .	32	0 0
	By James Webb, camlet weaver . . .	53	0 0
	By pocket expenses, given for box money .	13	7 0
	By sir Francis Nodd, for one quarter house rent, due at Christmas last .	52	10 0
3	By Ambrose Tull, weaver . . .	33	0 0
	By Claude Guilote, for eleven pieces of French velvet	237	8 0
	By Jean Baptista Lucon	59	0 0
	By James Nisbett	13	2 0
	By James Racine, Norman	15	12 0
	By David de l'Aigle, of Leghorn, paid his bill of exchange to Jos. de Costa .	125	0 0
	By W. Sorpre, weaver	50	0 0
4	By W. Andre l'Ecluse, weaver . . .	40	0 0
	By Anthony Dyer	7	6 0
	By Joscelyn Aborn, for a bale of thrown Italian silk	264	0 0
	By George, my shop porter, his wages to Christmas	8	0 0
	By Thos. Lemain, journeyman, ditto .	10	0 0
	By William Jeremy, ditto	10	0 0
	By house expenses to my wife, for the month of January	25	0 0
	By Henry Hartly	30	0 0

Carried over £1261 5 0

ACCOUNT OF CASH FOR

CASH Dr.

	£. s. d.
To the foot of the former page brought forward, being so much received this month	1573 4 5
5 To the Lady Arabella, being for five suits wedding clothes	169 17 0
To my Lord Havinport, for seven new suits for the women servants of the family, on Lady Arabella's marriage .	56 12 0
To John Knowle, jun., of Lincoln, received by his brother	37 18 0
To Abraham Stamper, in full	11 3 0
To Will. Audley, of Cambridge	13 8 8
To retail cash taken in the shop	102 7 3
6 Twelfth-day, shop shut	
7 To my lady duchess of Bourfleet, being for 86 yards of crimson velvet	111 16 0
To Anthony Forty, esq., in full	17 2 0
To Will. Hankey, of St. Edmundsbury .	30 0 0
To the Lady Barbray, sent by her woman	47 19 0
To Hen. Semple, of Edinburgh, per bill received this day	50 0 0
To Will. Castleton, on account	8 17 0
To retail cash taken in the shop	64 11 0
8 To Humph. Page, of Portsmouth	102 11 0
To Samuel Thomas, of Southampton	10 7 0
To Sarah Williams, on account	20 0 0
To the Lady Simson, by her maid	33 0 0
To William Myers, of Bristol, the balance of an old account	1 19 0
To retail cash this day	72 13 0
	<hr/>
	Carried over £2535 5 4
	<hr/>

JANUARY, 1737, continued.

	CASH	Cr.
	£.	s. d.
By the foot of the credit of the former page, being for money paid on sundry accounts	126	1 5 0
5 By the trustee of Hugh James's estate, bankrupt, being so much paid of my contribution, in order to receive the dividend	16	17 0
By Tim. Bearskin, for 500 <i>l.</i> S. Sea stock, transferred to me this day at 117½	587	10 0
By Mary Thomas, mackler	36	7 0
By James Arles, of Genoa, paid his bill to Messrs. Gold and Company	200	0 0
By Stephen le Blan, brocade weaver	83	0 0
6 Twelfth-day, shop shut		
7 By Semper Took, weaver	18	6 0
By Abel Wilcocks, in full	46	0 0
By William O'Bryan in full	102	10 0
By Singleton James	8	10 0
By Henry Goody, weaver	65	3 0
By James March	13	12 0
By Tho. Scott, my apprentice, for sundry payments of petty cash this week, as per his weekly account	13	7 4
8 By Sam. Godfrey, the brewer, in full for his bill for the year 1736	16	11 0
By James Scott, weaver	143	0 0
By Mary Thomas, mackler	36	17 0
By Samuel Sprig, on account	30	0 0
By Claude Guirole, for fine French brocades	163	12 0

Carried over £2842 7 4

ACCOUNT OF CASH FOR
CASH Dr.

		£. s. d.
	To the foot of the former page brought forward, being so much received this month	2535 5 4
10	To William Merry, on account	30 0 0
	To Andrew Cary	17 3 0
	To Will. Johnson, of Salisbury, per bill	123 0 0
	To Jo. Merchant, of Worcester	72 10 0
	To retail cash from the shop	87 3 0
	To Samuel Ayres, tailor, on account	120 0 0
	To ditto, for Jo. Ayres, of Bristol	130 0 0
	Total received	<u>£3115 1 4</u>

JANUARY, 1737, continued.

	CASH Cr.	£. s. d.
By the foot of the credit in the former page, being for money paid on sundry accounts	2842	7 4
10 By Thomas Jeffry, weaver	20	0 0
By petty expense given lady Bright's maid	0	10 6
By Simpson Williams	20	0 0
By Thomas Sharp, senior	17	0 6
By Thomas Santry, weaver	131	0 0
By James Willey	20	0 0
		<hr/>
Total paid	£3050	18 4
		<hr/>

	£. s. d.
Received	3115 1 4
Paid	3050 18 4
	<hr/>
Balance in cash	£64 3 0
	<hr/>

Upon this cash-book (which is drawn out only for eight days, and will show the nature of the thing as much as if it were for a month) take a few needless observations for the tradesman's direction.

1. The title is drawn at large, as it ought, or may be supposed to be, where form is required; and to let the tradesman see the meaning of the thing; that is to say, on the top of every page is repeated the words at length, Account of cash for January, 1737, continued. When the tradesman comes to be acquainted with his books, it is enough to say on the top, January, or cash for January, continued.

2. Likewise, upon bringing on the foot of the former leaf, it is enough after the first leaf, to say only, To cash brought forward; yet, on the first page or two, or for the first month, it were necessary to have it be formal and full; for I have known, upon producing books in a court of justice, the too short wording entries of money has been scrupled.

Some scruple the words 'to' and 'by' in the cash-book entries, and say they will not read in proper English.

But even this scruple or cavil will appear weak and unjust if examined into; and the words are not only proper, but requisite.

It is true, a tradesman may keep a cash-book, and only begin it thus:—

Jan.	Cash received.	|			Cash paid.		
		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1.	Of A. B. 18 0 0	1.	To A. B. 10 0 0				
	Of C. D. 15 0 0		To C. D. 5 0 0				

and so on; and this may be as good English as the other, and may answer all the purposes of a cash-book: but it must be owned, it is a very coarse way; and if such a book appears in a court of justice, it will be far enough from reading well;

yet the receipt-book vouching the payments, and the ledger acknowledging the receipts, it may answer all the ends of book-keeping; and so will a chalk and a trencher, if we come to talk critically, and books may be laid aside.

But I am to show the tradesman how to word his books according to the rule, and to the custom and usage of men of business.

As to the words ‘debtor’ and ‘creditor’ in his cash-book, and how they will join with the following words ‘to’ and ‘by,’ repeated in every line, I think they are not only sense and readable, but they are really necessary to make the word debtor or creditor read currently in and with every line.

The words ‘to’ and ‘by’ are only to be read as ‘for’ and ‘of,’ as these two last particulars are to be understood, as if added ; thus :

Cash Dr. i. e. Cash is Dr.	|	Cash Cr. i. e. Cash is Cr.
For 18 <i>l.</i> received of John	|	Of Will. Jennison, by rea-
Frazier.	|	son of 22 <i>l.</i> paid him.

These things are so just and so easy, and the words ‘for’ and ‘of’ so natural to be understood, though not expressed, that the tradesman will be convinced there is no cause for the exception ; and that the words ‘to’ and ‘by’ are not only sense, but needful in bookkeeping.

I am to note, that in the account of cash, here given for a specimen, there is a variety of the diction, that is, a different way of expressing the same article ; as, particularly, the daily article of retail cash, and the weekly article of petty cash ; which is not done by mistake, or forgetfulness, but to let the tradesman see, that when he comes to it, any of those ways of expressing it are proper, and he may take which he likes best.

Where any person of quality sends the money, it is to be supposed the goods were bought some time before, and that the money was now sent to pay the debt; otherwise, had the goods been but just then bought, the money would have been brought into the shop, and been included in the article of retail cash; for this reason, in the account of cash, here are a few such particulars, to let the tradesman see that they are not improper, only that they should not be too frequent.

By this brief account the tradesman will see how voluminous a cash-book would be, and how it would take up too much time, if the two articles of money taken in the shop, and money laid out in trifling matters, were not kept apart, and only brought in, the one daily, and the other weekly, under one general article; instead of which, were they to be entered apart, the retail cash would perhaps embarrass the book with forty heads in a day, and the other with a hundred in a week; so that a month's cash, to a man of business, would go a great way into the cash-book, and it must be a very large book that would serve a year.

Likewise it has been found very proper, though it is allowed that it is not essential to a cash-book, to mention money received of tradesmen-customers, to be either in full, or on account, as the case is. We come now to the petty cash-book, kept by the apprentices, for the purposes and reasons mentioned before in p. 4. which, as I have said, is a good way to teach the youth how to keep a book early, and to fit him for keeping the cash-book in proper time.

ACCOUNT OF PETTY CASH.

Petty Cash Dr.		Petty Cash Cr.
SATURDAY, Jan. 1st. 1737.		SATURDAY, January 1st. 1737.
		By sundry payments, as follow:
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
To my master for cash, be- ing so much put into my hands for ordinary ex- penses . . .	5 0 0	To the five almsmen, who come yearly, by order . . . 0 5 0
		To poor Amy, an old nurse . . . 0 2 6
		To the man who brought six sugar- loaves, by order . 0 10 0
		To the beadle of the hall, by order . 0 5 0
		To the quest ser- vants, by order . 0 5 0
		To the parish watch, by order . . . 0 2 6
		To old Hanks the watchman, who sits at our door, by order . . . 0 5 0
		MONDAY, January 3rd.
MONDAY, Jan. 3rd.		
To my master for more money re- ceived of him . . .	5 0 0	For a messenger to Chelsea . . . 0 1 6
		For carriage of goods from Canterbury 0 17 3
		Charges at the cus- tom-house, for three bales from Leghorn, as by the particulars given my master. 3 18 0
Carried over £10 0 0		Carried over £6 11 9
C. E. T. II.		C

ACCOUNT OF PETTY CASH, continued.

Petty Cash *Dr.*Petty Cash *Cr.**£. s. d.*

Brought over 10 0 0

£. s. d.

Brought over 6 11 9

MONDAY, Jan. 3rd, continued.

For post letters . . 0 1 9
 For five penny-post
 letters, written by
 Mr. Bush . . 0 0 5
 Box-money given to
 Mr. Webb's men 0 3 0
 Ditto Drawboy's
 men . . . 0 6 0
 Ditto Tull's men . 0 4 6
 [And so of other
 such-like particu-
 lars]
 All by my master's
 order.

TUESDAY, January 4th.

For brooms . . 0 0 8
 To the shoe-cleaner 0 0 6
 To a porter from the
 commissioners of
 bankrupt, with a
 summons . . 0 1 0
 To 'squire Jenk's
 servant, by mas-
 ter's order, . . 0 10 6
 To lady George's
 men, by order . 0 10 0

Carried over £10 0 0

Carried over £8 10 1

ACCOUNT OF PETTY CASH, continued.

Petty Cash Dr.		Petty Cash Cr.					
£	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		
Brought over	10	0	0	Brought over	8	10	1
 TUESDAY, Jan. 4th, continued.							
To the Exeter carriers, for carriage of money . . .	0	15	3				
For postage of foreign letters . . .	0	7	9				
For mending the back shop sashes, broken by the football . . .	0	2	6				
For quarterage for the lamps . . .	0	5	3				
Ditto to the New-River water . . .	0	6	6				
 WEDNESDAY, Jan. 5th.							
To a porter from madam le Force .	0	1	0				
To the newswoman, for papers ordered to be taken in .	0	2	3				
To a poor man for clearing the ice every morning at the door, by order	0	1	0				
For post letters this day . . .	0	1	3				
For a paring-shovel, the old one broken, by order	0	1	4				
Carried over £10 0 0			Carried over £10 14 2				
			c 2				

ACCOUNT OF PETTY CASH, continued.

Petty Cash Dr.		Petty Cash Cr.					
£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.		
Brought over	10	0	0	Brought over	10	14	2
 THURSDAY, Jan. 6th.							
For the bell-man post, with letters		0	0	3			
For the weekly bills, to clerk for the year, by order		0	2	6			
For a sheet alman- ack, by order	.	0	0	3			
For wax candles, by order	.	0	16	4			
For five balls of packthread	.	0	2	0			
 FRIDAY, January 7th.							
FRIDAY, Jan. 7th.							
Received of my master, to balance my week's cash	.	2	6	3			
Total £	12	6	3	Total £	12	6	3

By this exact method of book-keeping, the tradesman may look back to his beginning, and see, at forty years' end, every penny of money that has passed through his hands, from the first hour of his being in trade.

I have taken the account at the beginning of January, by which the tradesman will see the usual charities and gifts of the rich tradesman to servants, and to the poor, which come naturally in to be distributed at that time; and by this method are preserved to be looked back upon the following years, for the directing charities and gifts on the like occasions.

Next to a due and regular keeping the cash, and an exact entry of every article, is the keeping a day-book, or journal, for the entry of goods bought and sold in the shop or warehouse of the tradesman.

Every tradesman ought, at the head of the first page of his day-book, to give it the just title, with its due explanation, in a few proper words, thus, or to this purpose :

THE DAY-BOOK ; or, JOURNAL ;

Being a full daily entry of all goods whatsoever, bought or sold, received in, or delivered out by me, on my account, beginning this first day of January, 1737, inclusive.

ANTHONY GOODSTOCK.

This head thus set at the beginning, need not be repeated at all afterwards; but it makes proper English of all the rest of the book, and will read in with any single entry, or any page, or leaf, and be very good sense together; which will be requisite to be done, as he may be obliged to produce his book

in a court of justice, for recovery of his debts, or on any other occasion ; and particularly in justification of his family's claim after his decease ; when, as a day-book is kept more or less exact, it has more or less weight with a court of justice.

In France, and also in other countries, we find it criminal for a tradesman not to keep books ; and not to have those books exactly and fairly kept is taken for a fraudulent design ; and the custom of merchants and tradesmen there has almost given it the sanction of a law, that every tradesman's book shall have its title not only on the inside of the head of the first leaf, but on the outside also, intimating what book it is.

Those who look upon this as a formality, and a piece of ostentation, may, perhaps, see reason to alter their opinions, when they hear any cause tried at law, where imperfect, dumb, and mute books, without titles or names, and without the name of the tradesman upon them, are produced in courts.

It has been the opinion of very experienced tradesmen, and of lawyers also, that not only the name of the person to whom any goods are sold, should be expressed in the books, but the place where he dwells ; as the town and county, if out of London, and the street or lane where he dwells in London ; because, upon a trial at law, for proof of a debt, where the books are to be brought in evidence, it may be argued thus ; here are goods sold and delivered to Thomas Sutton. But what then ? this may be another Thomas Sutton, of the same trade ; there may be many Thomas Suttons as well as the defendant.

But if it be said, such and such goods sold to Thomas Sutton, of Ware, in Hertfordshire, mercer ; or, such and such goods sold to Thomas Sutton, of St. Martin's le Grand, London, staymaker, and the

like, these authorities go a great way to make a good voucher to the entry ; and, with a regular book, will be of great weight in a court of justice, to prove that the same Thomas Sutton, who is sued for the debt, is the very man, and no other.

A good debt once recovered by the mere aid of such a well-wording of the entry in the book, will make the tradesman think the labour, which is but a trifle, well bestowed ever after ; as one just debt lost for want of a few such supernumerary words, as some call them, will make a tradesman sensible of the sloth and neglect of them ever after.

And for the full proof of the delivery of the goods, let the porter or servant sign the delivery of every parcel as they respectively carried them out, setting their hand under every parcel, with or under these words, delivered by me.

The manner of the tradesman's day-book may be as follows ; only let me take notice of the order of the thing ; namely, that it is to contain the first thing done in his way of trade, so that it begins at his beginning, and therefore should first have fairly entered all the goods his shop or warehouse is stocked with for his trade, as his cash-book should have the first money he brings into stock ; thus, viz :—

THE JOURNAL; or THE DAY Book.

Being a daily entry of all the goods, of what kinds soever, bought in, or sold out, and delivered out upon credit, by me, or my order, and on my account; beginning this first day of January, anno 1737, inclusive.

ANTHONY GOODSTOCK.

SATURDAY, JANUARY, 1st, 1737.

Sold to MR. FRANCIS KIDD, of Exeter, mercer.

		£. s. d. £. s. d.
1 Piece fine Italian mantua, containing 62 yards, at 6s. 6d. per yard	20 3 0	
1 Piece fine black velvet, containing 23 yards, at 22s. 6d. per yard	25 17 6	
1 Piece fine brocade, half ell, containing 20 yards, at 18s. per yard	18 0 0	
	<hr/>	64 0 6

Delivered per me, to himself,
at the castle in Wood-
street,

NICHOLAS CAWLEY.

Sold to MR. RALPH TODD, in Chandos-street.

20 Yards fine camlet, at 2s. 3d. per yard	2 5 0
--	-------

Delivered by me,

THOMAS GEORGE.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 1st, continued.

Sold to MR. WILLIAM EATON, of Windsor.

		£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1	Piece fine crimson Italian mantua, containing 74 yards, at 6s. 4d. per yard	23	8	8			
1	Piece English flowered damask, containing 25 yards at 11s. 6d. per yard	14	7	6			
1	Piece English camlet 43 yards, at 2s. 6d. per yard	5	7	6			
2	Pieces English mantua, black, containing 120 yards, at 5s. per yard	30	0	0			
					73	3	8

Delivered to the Windsor coachman, by me,

THOMAS GEORGE.

MONDAY, JANUARY 3rd.

Sold to the HONOURABLE the LADY PAYWELL.

22	Yards straw-coloured Italian mantua, at 7s. 6d. per yard	8	5	0
----	--	---	---	---

Delivered to her ladyship's woman, who brought her order, by me,

MOSES BUSH.

Memorandum,
My lady's order in the drawer of orders, No. 14.

Sold MOSES THOMAS TAYLOR, in Hatton-Garden.

12	Yards fine crimson velvet, at 27s. per yard	16	4	0
----	---	----	---	---

Delivered to himself, by me,
MOSES BUSH.

MONDAY, JANUARY 3rd, continued.

Sold to SIR WALTER MAGPYE, baronet.

	£. s. d.
82 Yards of fine figured crimson velvet, at 30s. per yard	123 0 0

Delivered per me,

NICHOLAS CAWLEY.

Bought of JAMES GOUCK, weaver.

	£. s. d.
60 Yards fine garden satin, made to my dwarf, at 9s. 6d. per yard	28 10 0
84 Yards ditto, of the second pattern, at 7s. per yard . .	29 8 0
120 Yards crimson flowered da- mask, at 11s. 6d	69 0 0
	<hr/> 126 18 0

Bought of MARY THOMAS, Mackler.

200 Yards of English lutestring, at 4s. 3d.	42 10 0
--	---------

Sold to MRS. MARTHA FLOWER, mantua-maker,
in Pall-mall.

25 Yards Italian mantua, at 7s. 3d. per yard	9 1 3
--	-------

Delivered per me,

THOMAS GEORGE.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 4th.

Sold to LADY PERKS, for her family mourning.

	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
136 Yards black Dutch mantua, at 8s. per yard	54	8	0			
60 Yards English ditto, at 5s. 6d.	16	0	10			
				70	18	0

Delivered to my lady's servant, per me,
MOSES BUSH.

Sold to SAM JOHNS, tailor, in Lime-street

7 Yards black velvet, at 1*l.* 1*s.* 7 7 0Delivered by me,
THOMAS GEORGE.

Sold to MR. WILLIAM HANKEY, of St. Edmundsbury.

	£.	s.	d.
24 Yards crimson damask, at 14 <i>s.</i> per yard	16	16	0
82 Yards ditto, for a bed, at 13 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>	55	7	0
126 Yards black mantua, at 7 <i>s.</i> per yard.	44	2	0
25 Yards fine brocade, French, at 22 <i>s.</i>	27	10	0
	143	15	0

Delivered to the Bury ware-
house, at the Bull without
Bishopsgate, by me,
THOMAS GEORGE.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 4th, continued.

Bought of CLAUDE GUILOTE.

	£. s. d.
300 Yards of French velvet, at 17s. 6d. per yard	262 10 0

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5th.

Sold to HENRY DODSON, esq.

	£. s. d.
12 Yards flowered damask, at 11s. per yard	6 12 0
8 Yards thread satin, at 4s. 6d. per yard	1 16 0
	<hr/>
	8 8 0

Delivered by me,

MOSES BUSH.

Sold SIR HENRY RUMBOLD.

110 Yards figured velvet, for a bed and window curtains, at 30s. per yard . . .	155 0 0
--	---------

Delivered to himself in the

shop, present

WILLIAM JONES.

Bought of HENRY SERVIERE of Dieppe, received from
himself in London.

12 Pieces fine French mantua, containing 60 yards each, at 5s. 6d.	198 0 0
300 yards fine French velvet, at 22s. per yard	330 0 0
	<hr/>
	528 0 0

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 5th, continued

Sold to the Countess of Lindrum.

		£. s. d. £. s. d.
176 Yards fine French velvet, at 20s.	.	176 0 0
26 Yards fine brocade, at 18s	.	23 8 0
		199 8 0

Delivered to her ladyship's
woman, per

NICHOLAS CAWLEY.

Sold JOHN WILLIAMS, esq.

26 Yards fine crimson damask, at 13s. per yard	16 18 0
---	---------

Delivered per

MOSES BUSH.

It can be no valuable objection to say this is calculated for a tradesman of large dealings, and that smaller things need not be done in so formal a manner.

It is true, in retailers of a meaner kind, the day-book may be closer written ; and I shall give you a specimen of it in a small compass ; but still we do not undertake here only to teach shoemakers, glovers, &c. how to keep a day-book, but tradesmen of the highest magnitude also ; for as some of even such may be not so knowing as others, it can't be below them to learn.

But here let me object against a vulgar method of book-keeping, by entering and crossing out, which I can by no means agree to be called book-keeping, any more than scoring upon a vintner's bar, or chan-

dler's slate, is book-keeping ; where, when it is paid, it is wiped out with a sponge.

But, to such tradesmen who trust abundance of money in trifles, and cannot help it, I would advise them to keep a smaller book, to enter all petty things below twenty or forty shillings at a time ; and this should be called, The small debt day-book ; and these might be scratched out, or crossed out, when you please ; and were the book itself rased out of business, and no trust given by such retail, it would not be amiss.

But, since some people will go on trust for everything, even to sixpence or a shilling, a pair of gloves, a handkerchief, a pair of stockings, or whatever happens to be sold, it may be needful to give the tradesman a hint in this case too.

First, even in this low-priced article, there must be a form and exactness ; the preamble, or title of the book, must speak English, and be taught to read in a court of justice, as I have said above ; and it may be so without any difficulty to the tradesman ; the introduction on the first page, or on the top of every page, being but made to stand right as it should do.

First of all, the title of it should be thus ;

A petty debt book, or a daily entry of goods sold in small parcels upon credit, and remaining unpaid when delivered,

By me, A. B.

Memorandum,

Such goods as being sold, and delivered, and entered in this book, and not crossed with this mark + + + through the sums, remain still owing and unpaid for ; but such as have this mark + + +

drawn through the sum or sums of money which they are rated at, are paid; and, by those crosses, I do acknowledge them to be fully discharged.

A. B.

After this preamble and memorandum, the head of the leaf should begin thus:

JANUARY, ANNO 1737.

Goods sold, not being paid for at the time of the delivery,
as follows, viz.

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
1 To William bland, at St. Catharine's, one pair of men's buck-skin gloves	0 5 0	
One pair of women's lamb gloves	0 2 0	-----
		0 7 0
2 To Mr. John Pied, one pair of white lamb gloves		0 1 2
To Mr. John Degroe, six pair of white lamb gloves, at 1s. 2d. per pair		0 7 0
3 To Mr. William's daughter, two yards of muslin, at 5s. 3d. per yard		0 10 6
To Thomas at the Peacock, two coarse neckcloths, at 2s. each .		0 4 0
To Mary Johnson the milk-woman, a mob, at		0 2 3
To William Hollom, esq., two fine turnovers, at 6s. 6d.	0 13 0	
One single handkerchief	0 5 6	
One pair of white gloves	0 1 2	-----
		0 19 8

PETTY DEBTS, JANUARY, ANNO 1737, continued.

Goods sold on credit, as before.

		£. s. d.	£. s. d.
4	To Mr. Andrew Soame, three pair of gloves + + + . . .	0 3 6	
	To the maid Mary at the Red Cross, one silk handkerchief . . .	0 3 6	
	Two yards cherry-coloured ribands, at 10d. per yard . . .	0 1 8	
	Needles	0 0 4	
		—————	0 5 6
	To Mr. Jeffrey the barber, two turnovers + + + . . .	0 7 0	
5	To William Groves, Mr. Smith's footman, a velvet cap, ready made	0 8 6	
	To captain Johnson, two pair of gloves	0 2 6	
	To Mrs. Maukin, the midwife, two fine muslin aprons, ready made + + + . . .	0 15 0	
	To Mr. Williams at next door, two silk handkerchiefs, fine . . .	0 8 0	
	To Mr. Samuel Sims, jun., two pair of white gloves	0 2 4	
	One silk handkerchief	0 3 8	
	Six turnovers, at 4s.	1 4 0	
		—————	1 10 0

Memorandum,

Taken a note under hand for the money, payable at two months.

6	To Mr. John Fish, two fine shirts, made up + + +	2 18 0
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PETTY DEBTS, JANUARY, ANNO 1737, continued.

Goods sold on credit, as before.

	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
To Mr. Fisher's man, two coarse turnovers		0 6 0
To Mr. William Simpson, one pair of white gloves		0 1 2
To Mrs. Carey, by her maid, 1000 pins	0 0 10	
Three papers of needles	0 1 2	
Five yards crimson riband	0 2 11	
One wrought handkerchief	0 5 6	
	<hr/>	0 10 5
To Mrs. Tolsey the baker, one striped muslin apron		0 7 6
To Mrs. Amy, at the Red Cross, one pair of kid gloves		0 1 6
To Mr. J. James, two turnovers + + +		0 7 0
7 To the bar-keeper at the Swan, one plain muslin hood, with edging		0 8 6
To Thomas Cole, the drawer, a fine turnover	0 5 6	
Two pair of gloves	0 2 4	
	<hr/>	0 7 10
To Miss Peggy, at cousin Ja- comb's, two yards blue riband	0 2 0	
One pair of fine garters	0 3 6	
One pair of kid gloves	0 1 6	
	<hr/>	0 7 0

This is the proper method for a debt-book for a small tradesman; and this book ought to be as exact, and as carefully kept, as any books of the greatest consequence; and should be worded as plain, that it may appear in evidence to prove little debts; and the preamble at the beginning is as needful, nay, more needful, than that of the higher tradesman, because you have here no names of porters and servants to attest the delivery of the goods.

Such tradesmen as have a great hurry of retail business, should also keep a blotting-book, and minute things in that for the help of memory; and then, at night, when the shop is shut, spare an hour or two, to enter fairly the business of the day.

But then let me add also; let them be sure to do it every day: for,

1. As the blotting-book is but as a minute, or memorandum of what is done, several particulars are often not set down in it, which the memory may perhaps retain and supply till evening; but which, if it lie longer in the head, is apt to be thrust out again by a throng of new incidents in the next day's trade.

2. If he has no time for carrying one day's minute off into a day-book, when will he find time for two, three, four days, or a week?

Besides, the first entries of goods, being done as only for a memorandum, require always examining; the particulars, for want of time, are not fully enough expressed or described; but, as it is rightly called a blotting-book, it requires much to be blotted out, and much to be added to complete it; and when this comes to be examined with the customer's book, which, perhaps, is more exact, the tallies are so far from agreeing, that they are scarce to be known by one another to be the same entry.

As the tradesman thus turns his blotting-book into a journal, so he will soon turn his ledger to a blotting-book ; that is to say, have his accounts full of mistakes and amendments, and some of them irrecoverable.

Besides, here is at once all the evidence of business lost, all the care of posterity is laid aside, all the possibility of proof is taken away from his widow and children ; for the blotting-book has no titles, no head to it in general, or to the folios in particular ; there is nothing but a rude, rough entry of particulars ; sometimes the names at large, sometimes only the initial letters of the names ; nothing that will read in a court of justice, or make a legal proof of a debt ; therefore I would most earnestly persuade every tradesman, if the hurry of his business in the day requires his entering goods sold only in the nature of a minute or blotting-book, not to fail every night to enter everything over again fair and fully in his day-book.

There are two things still to be named that are very necessary to a tradesman for the regular managing his business and his books : these are,

I. The due preserving his corresponding letters. It is true, a retail tradesman, or indeed a wholesale-man, a merchant excepted, can hardly be supposed able to copy his own letters to his correspondents : but, in case of large orders given to the manufacturers in the country, to make such and such goods ; and, in some cases, where matters of accounts are contained in letters, even an inland tradesman should copy such letters ; and therefore I would advise every tradesman, whose business is considerable, to keep a copy-book for all letters of more than ordinary consequence.

But the present advice relates more particularly to the careful keeping correspondents' letters from

the country ; for those, on many occasions, are the best and most authentic vouchers for what may pass between the writer and the person written to. For example :—

The country customer writes an order for goods, and by this order the shopkeeper sends them : several incidents fall in here to make room for dispute, and which producing the letter in which the order is expressed can only decide ; as particularly the countryman writes thus ; Send me such and such goods without fail, by such a vessel belonging to our town ; she lies at the Bridge-house quay ; the master's name is Thomas Woolman.

This the tradesman observes exactly, delivers the goods, and his porter signs the book. The vessel goes away, suppose for Weymouth, where the customer lives ; but the ship and goods are lost at the Isle of Wight, the vessel stranded, and the goods lost or spoiled.

This letter, then, is the only proof that the tradesman, or his widow, has to make out that the country customer either ordered the goods to be sent at all, or ordered them to be sent on board that vessel ; and if both cannot be proved, the loss lies upon the tradesman here ; but, otherwise, upon him at Weymouth, who ordered the goods.

It is the same thing with the carrier ; suppose any disaster befalls the carrier, as his wagon being robbed, as often happens ; or if it be a pack-horse carrier, the horse is driven away by some sudden flood, or falls down in the water and spoils the goods ; in all which cases, if the tradesman had his customer's order to send the goods by such a particular carrier, the loss was the customer's.

Likewise, supposing the goods to arrive safe, and when he comes to open them he cavils at the sorts, and pretends he did not order such sorts of goods, or

not such a quantity, and the like ; in all these cases the chapman's letter is the tradesman's voucher ; and if that be lost, the goods are refused, and perhaps laid by to be returned, that is to say, to get an abatement of price upon those pretences.

But producing the chapman's letter puts an end to all such disputes, and the tradesman or his widow has no trouble at all, but convicts him under his own handwriting.

There are many other cases which make preserving the country letters necessary, as particularly the acknowledging the receipt of bills, and the receipt of goods after they are sent down, and which are all one as receipts given in a book, or next of kin to them.

II. The second head mentioned above is the tradesman's keeping a book to enter down the acceptance of bills drawn upon him.

This indeed principally relates to a man who dealing much in the country among the manufacturers and workmen, such as clothiers, factors, hardware men, &c., receives goods from them, and they draw their bills again upon him for their money ; when these bills come to the tradesman for acceptance, he sets his hand to them as accepted.

Now it is absolutely necessary for him to enter down in a book this acceptance, that so he may always know what bills are running out against him, and what day they become due, that he may take care to bestir himself among his customers, and get in money against the time to pay them currently, that his credit may be preserved, and no man may be put to come twice for his money.

It will be but a poor excuse for a warehouseman or shopkeeper, when a bill is brought to him for payment, to say, Indeed I did not think it had been due till next week ; he ought to know the very

morning of the day when a bill is due, that the bill will be sure to be demanded in the afternoon.

I think I need not give a specimen for such a book, the bare direction is plain; but that a young tradesman may not plead ignorance, take the method in short thus. Let the title be thus:—

A BILL Book; or

A continued entry of the acceptance of bills, and the time when due.

Then for the entering the bills, let it be thus:—

Jan. 10th.

A bill drawn by Wm. Jones, of Exeter, for 156*l.* 17*s.*, payable at twenty days' sight, to Henry Williams, or order; accepted this day; due, the three days included, on the 2nd of February.

Or you may form this book into columns, for the readier finding out bills when accepted; which they order thus:—

Day accepted.	The sum.	Name of the drawer.	Days' sight.	When due.
Jan. 10th.	£150.	Wm. Jones.	20 days.	2nd Feb.

Either of these methods is regular, and will answer the end; but one method or other is absolutely necessary.

I suppose I need not direct a tradesman to take receipts for money, when he pays it without bills of exchange ; nor that he should keep a book for such receipts, not trusting to loose papers, which are easily mislaid, and often lost, and the want of which often makes money be twice demanded, and sometimes twice paid.

Here now are two precedents for the tradesman ; one of the most considerable, and the other of the lowest class of business ; one for the top of the trade, a mercer, and the other for Miss Seamwell, the milliner, trusting out a row of pins, or a yard of inkle.

For this must be allowed to be an unalterable maxim in trade ; namely, that everything that is sold must be found in money or on paper, in the box or in the book ; if it be not in one of these it is lost, and the tradesman is in a way to be undone.

It is not a sufficient objection to say the value is small. Nothing is so small that it ought to be lost. If it be too small to be set down in the book, it should be too small to be sold, or at least too small to be trusted.

There remains one thing still to mention in this last instance of book-keeping ; namely, the affecting brevity in setting down the particulars, which the tradesman just sets down, in short, for his own direction only ; as if the book was to be of no use when he may be in his grave.

This brevity is fatal if ever his debt comes to be demanded by widows, or orphans, or executors, &c. While the man is alive it is one thing, but when he is gone it is another ; it is hard a debt should be lost to a poor family, however trifling it may be, and that for want of the much more trifling dash of the pen at the time of entering.

It is far from being impertinent to put things

down in terms so explicit that the entry may speak English; and if not, he might as well have written it in shorthand as in any other writing, the effect being alike, and the language alike unintelligible.

It remains only now to direct the tradesman to the usual form of a ledger, or, as some tradesmen meanly call it, a debt-book, to which all these things are posted, and where every person buying or selling to the tradesman, has his account; which is, in short, a register, and is called so in some countries, where every man's accounts are entered, and stand upon record for and against; this is the last part of book-keeping, as the cash-book is the first; and to this the tradesman has recourse on all occasions, to ascertain his substance, and what he is worth in the world. For here all the books mentioned before centre, and are, as it were, copied and repeated, with this difference only, that here the articles are concise and general, referring to the journal or cash-book for the particulars.

As every line is a tacit reference to the journal or cash-book for the particulars to explain it, so the page or folio of the said journal or cash-book, where those particulars are to be found, is expressly set down at the end of every article, and has a column on purpose to place it in before the sum or value is expressed, as you will see in the specimen.

Again, as this column in the ledger refers to the folio in the journal, where the particulars are to be found, so every article in the journal, when carried into the ledger, should have the folio in the ledger set down where the man's accounts stand, to whose debt or credit, in account, the entry belongs; take the example here, because, in the specimen of a journal given before, it is not expressed.

N. B. This carrying things from the journal or the cash-book, to the ledger, or to the account of the person to whom they relate, is called posting; and the mark made in the journal to know when it is done, is called the post-mark.

Suppose the entry in the journal stood thus:—

JAN. 10th, 1737.

Sold MR. HENRY THOMPSON, of Cambridge.

	£	s.	d.
1 Piece of fine Italian Mantua, containing 43 yards at 6s. 6d.	20	3	0
1 Piece of fine Paduasoy, con- taining 26 yards at 7s. . . .	15	1	0
1 Piece of crimson damask, con- taining 26 yards at 1ls. . . .	14	6	0
12 Yards black velvet, at 1l. . . .	12	0	0
	<hr/>		
	Po. 63.	61	10
		0	

The mark here Po. signifies that the articles are posted to the debt of Mr. Henry Thompson, in the ledger, and the figures signify that Mr. Henry Thompson's account in the ledger is to be found in fol. 63.

In the ledger you have no occasion to repeat anything; for, as I have said above, every article ought to be general and concise, and never to exceed one line; and, therefore, when the above article comes to be posted into the ledger to Mr. Thompson's account, it should take up no more words than thus:—

HENRY THOMPSON, of Cambridge. *Dr.*

1725.	Jour. fol.	£.	s.	d.
Jan. 10. To a parcel	17.	61	10	0

Observe here, if it is the first line of his account, you may add thus:—

To a parcel sent him, as per journ. fol. 17.

Then all the subsequent lines read from it ; and you may only say, instead of the words in the first line,—

To ditto 19.

and so on as the parcel stands in this journal.

N. B. In forming the ledger, I do not regard the formality of making the ledger here to be a scheme or draught from the particular accounts in the cash-book, or journal, of which I have given a specimen before, because I do not tie myself to this or that particular trade ; nor are the times and dates at all referring to one another ; but one thing refers to one trade, and one to another, that all may have patterns to suit their occasions.

Nor do the names refer to one another, but every specimen is independent of any other ; and I thought it was best so, because from these the tradesman may the more easily draw ledgers and journals, and cash-books separate, as he pleases, and so make a form for himself.

In the first place, as I said of the day-book, so I say of the ledger, it should have a title, and the title should be written on the outside of the book, and

on the middle of the first blank leaf; but there needs no preamble or declaration at the head of the leaf what the meaning of the book is, as is needful in the journal, because every account is a title or declaration to itself, including or expressing the meaning of the book.

But, because sometimes the ledger shall be full, and at an end at a differing time, and when the other books are not, (for the ledger being the largest of all the books, shall sometimes outrun two or three journals,) therefore it is usual to mark the ledgers alphabetically ; thus,

Ledger, No. A.

and so on to B and C, as the tradesman continues long in business.

Fo. 10.

JAMES COLLIER, Dr.

				Jour. fol.	£.	s.	d
1737.							
Jan. 10.	To a parcel sent him, as per journal	.	.	.	17	142	17
						0	
19.	To ditto	:	:	.	22	83	11
						6	
28.	To ditto	:	:	.	31	107	4
						10	
Feb. 16.	To ditto	:	:	.	50	120	6
						6	
Mar. 12.	To ditto	:	:	.	73	97	13
						0	
1738.							
Mar. 27.	To ditto	:	:	.	91	28	3
						7	
Apr. 27.	To ditto	:	:	.	112	173	12
						5	
May 9.	To ditto	:	:	.	122	72	15
						2	
					£	826	4
						0	

Eight hundred, twenty and
six pounds, four shillings.

PER CONTRA, Cr.

1737.			Cash-book			£.	s.	d.
			fol.	£.	s.			
May 4	By cash received per bill, as per cash-book		32	100	0	0		
June 13.	By cash of himself		36	42	15	0		
Aug. 2.	By ditto		40	152	0	0		
Sept. 10.	By bill on Thomas Webb		44	80	0	0		
Nov. 7.	By ditto on the bank		52	50	10	0		
				£425	5	0		
	By his credit in a new account, to balance			400	19	0		
				£826	4	0		
	Eight hundred, twenty and six pounds, four shillings.							

JOHN LOW, of Bristol, *Dr.*

		Cash-book fol.	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1737.					
Mar. 12.	To cash paid himself in town	.	16	100	0 0
1738.					
April 14.	To ditto paid his bill to John Snell	.	24	150	0 0
May 4.	To ditto, per bill	.	31	80	0 0
June 23.	To ditto	.	38	100	0 0
July 21.	To ditto	.	39	50	0 0
Aug. 30.	To ditto	.	42	169	0 0
			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
			£649	0	0
	To my debt resting to him to balance		242	12	0
			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
			£891	12	0
			<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

Eight hundred, ninety and one pounds, twelve shillings.

JOHN LOW, of Bristol, further *Dr.*

1737.					
Nov. 12.	To cash paid himself	.	51	200	0 6

PER CONTRA, Cr.

			Cash-book fol.	£.	s.	d.
1737.						
Dec.	10.	By a parcel bought of him, as per journal	.	13	65	12
Jan.	18.	By ditto	.	20	124	11
	24.	By ditto	.	29	89	12
Feb.	14.	By ditto	.	44	216	6
Mar.	8.	By ditto	.	66	117	10
	30.	By ditto	.	87	57	3
1738.						
April	14.	By ditto	.	99	184	19
May	5.	By ditto	.	122	35	17
				£	891	12
						0

Eight hundred, ninety and one
pounds, twelve shillings.

PER CONTRA, Cr.

			Jour. fol.	£.	s.	d.
1737.						
		By his credit in account above		242	12	0
June	15.	By a parcel	.	136	116	7
	30.	By ditto	.	52	97	12

S. FRITH, of Durham, *Dr.*

		Jour. fol.	£.	s.	d.
1837.	To his debt in former ac- count, fol. 10		746	3	11
July 11.	To a parcel, sent as per jour- nal	140	123	12	0
30.	To ditto	154	84	3	0
Aug. 12.	To ditto	162	106	17	5
Sept. 30.	To ditto	187	115	13	2
Oct. 10.	To ditto, per ship to Sunder- land	193	217	4	0
			£	1393	13 6

One thousand, three hundred,
ninety and three pounds,
thirteen shillings, and six-
pence.

PER CONTRA, Cr.

1737.				Cash-book			
				fol.	£.	s.	d.
July 27.	By cash per bill	.	.	28	100	0	0
Aug. 9.	By ditto	.	.	29	60	0	0
Sept. 2.	By ditto	.	.	32	100	0	0
20.	By ditto	.	.	33	211	0	0
Oct. 8.	By ditto	.	.	34	80	0	0
14.	By ditto	.	.	—	50	0	0
Nov. 10.	By ditto	.	.	35	40	0	0
18.	By ditto	.	.	—	30	0	0
26.	By ditto	.	.	—	120	0	0
					£791	0	0
	By his debt to balance			602	13	6	
				£1393	13	6	

One thousand, three hundred,
ninety and three pounds,
thirteen shillings, and six
pence.

Tho. JOHNSON, Dr.

		Jour. fol.	£.	s.	d.
	1737.				
Dec.	12. To a parcel of goods sent	329	74	2	0
	30. To ditto	341	82	0	0
Jan.	5. To ditto, as per journal, number B.		4	76	12
				6	0
	20. To ditto	16	34	6	0
Feb.	3. To ditto	22	104	8	0
	14. To ditto	31	64	7	0
	22. To ditto	39	22	13	0
Mar.	2. To ditto	42	96	12	0
	29. To ditto	67	113	8	0
	1738.				
April	12. To ditto	72	34	6	0

PER CONTRA, Cr.

		Cash Book folio.	£	s.	d.
1737.					
Feb. 8.	By cash received, per bill	.	12	60	0 0
Mar. 20.	By ditto, per his son	.	14	50	0 0
1738.					
Apr. 10.	By ditto, at the Bank	.	16	100	0 0
May 16.	By ditto, per bill	.	18	50	0 0
	20. By ditto	.	—	30	0 0

N. B. The above account, as also that over the leaf, is what I call an open account, or an account depending, which is when the respective parties have not done trading, are still buying and paying, and have not cleared or balanced to any fixed time. This makes the page or folio stand most blank, that the tradesman may see that while the said account is so depending, and is like to be full of particulars, no other account ought to be begun upon the same leaf of the book.

JOHN FRANKLIN, *Dr.*

				Jour. fol.	£.	s.	d.
1737.							
Jan.	8.	To a parcel sent him	.	.	13	72	4 0
	26.	To ditto	.	.	26	102	13 0
Feb.	17.	To ditto	.	.	33	118	17 0
	27.	To ditto	.	.	41	90	15 0
Mar.	12.	To ditto	.	.	45	54	15 0
	26.	To ditto	.	.	65	32	10 0
1738.							
Apr.	10.	To ditto	.	.	71	114	6 0

PER CONTRA, Cr.

			Jour. fol.	£.	s.	d.
1737.						
Jan. 17.	By a parcel received	.	.	15	124	16 0
24.	By ditto	.	.	20	98	13 0
30.	By ditto	.	.	29	122	11 0
Feb. 26.	By ditto	.	.	40	17	4 0
Mar. 10.	By ditto	.	.	44	84	18 10

N. B. This account is left open, and the rest of the page left blank, for the same reason as is mentioned in the former leaf.

S. FRITH, of Durham, Dr.

		Jour. fol.	£.	s.	d.
1737.					
Jan.	10. To a parcel, as per journal	. 17	146	2	7
	14. To ditto . . . .	. 19	179	11	8
Feb.	4. To ditto . . . .	. 47	213	10	4
	22. To ditto . . . .	. 59	97	13	10
Mar.	6. To ditto . . . .	. 68	124	7	6
	25. To ditto . . . .	. 90	358	10	0
1738.					
Apr.	10. To ditto . . . .	. 106	83	12	0
	14. To cash, accounted a bill for him, as per cash-book . .	. 43	200	15	0
	20. To ditto, for credit given him at Bristol . . . .	. 47	163	10	0
May	28. To a parcel, as per journal .	. 124	239	6	0
June	12. To ditto . . . .	. 132	160	7	0
			£	1967	5 11

One thousand, nine hundred,
sixty and seven pounds, five
shillings, and eleven pence.

PER CONTRA. Cr.

			Cash Book fol.	£.	s.	d.
1737.						
Feb. 26.	By cash received, as per cash book		12 100	0	0	0
Mar. 20.	By ditto, per bill		14 100	0	0	0
	27. By ditto		15 150	0	0	0
1738.						
Apr. 12.	By ditto, on a foreign bill . .		16 200	15	0	0
	30. By ditto, on the Bank . . .		18 146	10	0	0
May 12.	By ditto, of himself		20 300	0	0	0
July 2.	By ditto, on the Bank		26 123	17	0	0
	14. By ditto		27 100	0	0	0
			£ 1221	2	0	0
By his debt in a new account to balance, carried on to fol. 65. . .			746	3	11	0
			£ 1967	5	11	0

One thousand, nine hundred,
sixty and seven pounds, five
shillings, and eleven pence.

W. Low, of Bristol, *Dr.*

			Cash Book			
			fol.	£.	s.	d.
1737.						
Mar.	25.	To cash, paid his bill	.	13	50	0 0
Apr.	8.	To ditto	.	15	20	0 0
	17.	To ditto	.	16	15	0 0
May	2.	To ditto	.	18	30	0 0
	12.	To ditto	.	20	42	0 0
June	16.	To ditto	.	27	100	0 0
	28.	To ditto	.	28	50	0 0
July	12.	To ditto	.	29	122	0 0
	15.	To ditto	.	—	87	0 0
	20.	To ditto	.	30	35	0 0
Aug.	2.	To ditto	.	32	130	0 0
	12.	To ditto	.	33	60	0 0
	15.	To ditto	.	—	35	0 0
Sept.	2.	To ditto	.	34	50	0 0
				£826	0	0
30.	To cash, paid himself, in town to balance all accounts	.	35	21	5	7
				£847	5	7

Eight hundred, forty-seven
pounds, five shillings, and
seven pence.

PER CONTRA, Cr.

			Jour. fol.	f.	s.	d.
1737.						
Jan.	7.	By goods received from him	14	137	15	6
	14.	By ditto	28	153	2	6
Feb.	3.	By ditto	39	117	12	0
	17.	By ditto	58	94	13	7
Mar.	10.	By ditto, by ship	67	262	12	0
Apr.	2.	By ditto	102	81	10	0
				£847	5	7

Eight hundred, forty-seven
pounds, five shillings, and
seven pence.

I might enumerate accounts to a very great variety, as they will necessarily stand in the tradesman's ledger, where there will be always a difference in the nature of the accounts, as the trade differs ; but as we have not room for it in this tract, it is sufficient to observe that all these I have given to exemplify the thing, have some variation in their circumstances, as you will see.

Some are accounts for the country chapman, to whom the tradesman sends his goods ; some for a country manufacturer, from whom he receives goods only.

From the first, the tradesman receives back remittances per bill, and sometimes per drafts on the bank, sometimes immediate cash, as you will see ; from the last, he, receiving goods in parcels, is drawn upon by bills, and pays them as they become due ; and at the end of the year the manufacturer comes up to town, and they even the accounts, and the tradesman pays him the balance ; so they are clear, and begin a new account.

In one account, the chapman and the tradesman make up their accounts, the chapman being in town ; but their trade being very considerable, the chapman pays a good round sum of money ; the account is stated and closed, and the balance transferred to his debt in a new account, by which the tradesman will be directed how to carry on an account from one folio to another in his ledger.

Other accounts are left open and uncast up ; these are when the customer goes on trading ; and, the accounts having not been adjusted, they proceed in their ordinary way, till proper times of balancing, as when the chapman comes to town, which is commonly in the spring.

Other accounts are between a tradesman and a country chapman, who is also a manufacturer, and

of whom the tradesman in London receives goods, as well as sells goods to him, so that either side of the account is posted from the journal. I know some are so nice as to think this should be made into two accounts ; one being the chapman's debt for goods sold to him by the tradesman at London ; and the other the tradesman's debt for goods received from the chapman : but as then these accounts must at last be balanced one by another, and the credit of each account be transferred to the debt of the other, I see no need of that trouble. If, indeed, it were an account from the government, the king debtor and creditor, and where the king will be paid his demand punctually ; but will pay the demand of the tradesman out of such and such appropriated funds, and as they come in, that alters the case.

But in private accounts it is another case ; and where only two tradesmen deal with one another for goods in their proper and respective ways of trade, there the case differs extremely.

It is true, sometimes it may be proper to keep distinct accounts, where the tradesman on one side, or on the other, trades in several capacities : for example ; a country shopkeeper deals, as he is a shopkeeper, with a wholesale mercer in London, and buys goods of him ; the same shopkeeper, in partnership with another man, is a manufacturer, say it be a shaloon-maker, or drugget, or sagathy-maker, and the wholesale mercer buys shaloons of him and company ; then indeed the accounts may be kept apart.

Though, even in this case, the London tradesman, viz., the wholesale mercer, is not obliged to keep his accounts separate ; let the country chapman take care of that part, and separate things, and keep the accounts asunder, as best suits with his

own affairs, and settle it between his partner and him.

In the case of an open account in the ledger, and continuing open, till the page, or folio, on one side or other is full, and the dealer carrying on large business; or, sometimes, that the business and account runs out into abundance of small particulars; there is no need of making a balance at the bottom, and so to carry on nothing but the debt, or credit remaining, to another account: nor would it be proper to do so, unless the account be, at the same time, stated, and brought to a balance also with the dealer; because it will occasion difficulty, and some confusion, when the account comes to be settled with the chapman.

But, in such case, it is sufficient to cast up the sum on either side, and carry them on to the new account in another place; thus:

Suppose the foot of the debt amounts to one thousand two hundred forty-six pounds twelve shillings and sixpence, the dealer's name William Thomas:

At the bottom, repeating the sum, as in other accounts, in words at length, say under it, thus;

*Which I transfer to his debt in a new account,
fol. 63.*

So likewise, on the other side; suppose the credit to amount to one thousand thirty-two pounds seventeen shillings and fourpence, after the sum in words at length, say thus;

*Which I transfer to his credit in a new account,
fol. 63.*

Then, when you come to the said folio 63. and are to begin your new account for William Thomas,

according to the usual form, you begin it thus : after the name of the man, on the top of one folio, and —— *Contra Cr.* on the other, you go on ;

To his debt, in account fol. 10. brought forward,
1246*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

Then, on the credit side, begin thus :

To his credit, on account, fol. 10. brought forward,
1032*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.*

Then the account goes on again regularly without interruption, as goods are again sent, and money received, just as it did before.

I know no remaining difficulties in the ledger, but what are easy to be adjusted by these rules. There are indeed some accounts which run between one tradesman and another, purely relating to cash, paying and receiving, accepting bills, and keeping a running cash for one another ; but as this is not frequent, except in some extraordinary cases, I shall not expatiate on that head.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of keeping a duplicate, or pocket-ledger, in case of fire.

THERE is one thing I must not omit; and which, though seldom practised, yet I must recommend it to every tradesman whose business is considerable, and who gives great credit, and especially in the city of London; and that is, to keep a duplicate of the ledger, which is no more or less than a copy of the ledger duly posted up, in a small pocket-volume; I say, especially in London, because so many accidents frequently happen there by fire.

I have been witness to the lamentable distress a tradesman has been reduced to, by the loss of his books, when a fire has begun in the very shop or warehouse, and he has not only lost his goods, but his books too, so that he has not been able to make out his debts, or demand his due of his debtors.

I remember several sudden fires, which have happened so violent, and so surprising, that there has been no coming near the counting-house, but all has been consumed; I knew one merchant, that lost not his goods and books only, but a vast sum in the first million lottery tickets, and had no account of the numbers, and another who lost navy bills and exchequer tallies in the same manner.

I cannot therefore but recommend it to all tradesmen to keep a pocket-ledger, and to keep it in some safe place from home; I need neither show the occasion for it, or tell them the convenience.

This seems to be more absolutely necessary at this time than ever, when so many tradesmen keep country houses, and country lodgings, whither they retreat for their diversion, with their families, in the heat of the summer season ; in the mean time leaving their shops and houses to the trust and keeping of servants ; the risk of which, I doubt, is not sufficiently considered.

There are many other occasions for a tradesman to keep a duplicate of his ledger ; but they are too long for this place : and, moreover, what we have said, is sufficient to induce this to be done.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The great benefit which the whole kingdom receives from the magnitude of London, and its mighty trade, illustrated by comparison with Spain and its capital. The mistake of such as think its great bulk detrimental to the rest of the kingdom. That London, on the contrary, is the centre of nourishment to the whole nation. That it may be said to give credit to all the world upon its own stock.

LET us now bestow one chapter for the honour of London, which rears its head so high in the trading world, in order to show of what prime consideration and benefit this glorious city is to the whole kingdom, preferable to what any other capital city is to any other kingdom or state upon earth. This we reckon due from us to our subject, which owes so much to this noble city ; and the rather, because we referred our reader in chap. xxvi. vol. 1. (where we touched briefly on this agreeable subject) to the present chapter.

And, in order to do this the better, we may advance this general proposition, which we doubt not to prove; to wit, that all collected bodies of people are a particular assistance to trade: and, therefore, to have one great and capital city in a kingdom, is of much greater advantage to it than if the same numbers of people dwelt in several places. For instance:—

Suppose the city of London to contain fifteen hundred thousand people, as we are told it does; I shall make it appear, that it is much more to the advantage of the whole kingdom, as to trade, that it should be so, than that the same number of people were divided equally, and lived in fifteen several cities, remote from one another.

It is the same as to navigation; it is much better that they have here one commanding port, one noble navigable river, than that they had, in their divided and remote situation, as above, fifteen navigable rivers, one to every city.

Spain is a remarkable instance of this, where there is no capital city, as we may say, in our sense of the word; Madrid being rather a village than a city, as the Hague in Holland is, and owes all its eminence to the residence of the court. This town is supposed to contain three hundred thousand people; and this is called the capital: but it has neither seaport or inland navigation, no navigable river being near it: the nearest is the Tagus, at Toledo, which is not only distant twelve leagues, at least, but does not open into the sea in the same dominion, but in Portugal; so that it is no navigation at all as to Spain.

Now Spain has abundance of other populous cities and seaports in it, dispersed and remote from one another, as Seville, Granada, Cadiz, Barcelona, Saragossa, Malaga, Aragon, Valencia, Toledo, Cordova, and several others.

The first of these, Seville, has, at least, three hundred thousand people in it also ; and several of the rest from one hundred thousand upwards to near two hundred thousand, as Cadiz, Barcelona, Malaga, Saragossa, Valentia, Granada ; which last city our best geographers reckon to be very near as populous as Seville, or Madrid. To sum them up from the Spanish way of estimating cities, and by the best accounts we can meet with, take them thus :

I. Madrid twenty-four thousand families, half of which are of nobility and quality, having from twenty to thirty and upwards in family, the rest being of the ordinary rate ; besides estimating the king's household at the Pardo, which, including the ordinary guards, is said to contain always twelve thousand souls. 2. Seville, containing sixty thousand families, at six in a house, three hundred and sixty thousand souls. 3. Granada, fifty thousand families. 4. Malaga. 5. Cordova. 6. Valencia. 7. Barcelona. 8. Saragossa. 9. Cadiz. 10. Majorca ; each of these fifteen thousand families ; which, with the poor, and the religious houses, make far above one hundred thousand in each city.

The reason of naming these cities will appear presently ; put them all together they are not supposed to contain more people than the city of London, and those adjacent towns to London which depend upon their supply of provisions from the city, including also the ships in the river.

Now, as these cities stand all remote from one another, and most of them in the most rich and fertile soil, on or near the sea-coasts, or on the banks of navigable rivers, their supply of provisions, fuel, clothing, equipage, furniture, and take it of as many kinds as you please, does neither come with difficulty, nor call for multitude of hands to be employed in raising, procuring, fetching, or carrying

them; nor yet does it influence the country to any perceptible degree, except perhaps for twenty or thirty miles round them.

But were all these cities, that is to say, the number of the inhabitants included in them, all joined in one capital, suppose Madrid, and though you were to suppose Madrid had a noble navigable river coming up to it, such as the Tagus, or the Ebro, or the Guadalquivir, it is evident the whole kingdom of Spain, large and spacious as it is, for it may be reckoned almost five hundred miles square, would be engaged and influenced, more or less, in supplying that one city with provisions.

All the sea-coasts, and all the cities and ports upon those coasts, would be busied, and fleets of ships employed to furnish wine, corn, oil, fruits, and foreign importations of every kind, all to the capital port of Madrid.

All the inland provinces would be engaged and employed in ploughing and sowing the lands to raise corn, planting vines, and groves of olives, to make wine and oil for this great metropolis.

All the rich meadows and pastures would be improved to feed and fatten the black cattle, to nourish the cows, suckle the calves, and furnish beef, veal, and milk, butter, cheese, &c.; and all the mountains, the forests, and plains, for breeding the black cattle and horses, before they came to those rich pastures; also the plains must be covered with flocks of sheep, which are now dispersed and scattered, a few and few together; and thus, as it is in England, every province would be providing something for the capital.

Nor is it a just objection to say, the same number of people will consume the same quantity of provisions, in whatever situation they may be placed. For, though the quantity should be the same, yet

the influences upon trade occasioned by it being all pointed to one centre, is such as quite alters the case, and would put the whole body of the people into motion, as it is in England. What fleets would there be employed to bring oil from Seville and Majorca, wine from Cadiz, Malaga, Alicant, Barcelona, and Galicia, &c., fish, wrought iron and steel, all sorts of weapons, fire-arms and artillery, from Bilboa and St. Antonia, and silk and wool from Segovia and Valencia; and the like from other parts.

What an infinite number of horses, mules, carriages and carriers, must be employed by land from all the inland provinces, to carry the product of the earth directly from Madrid; or, if too remote for that, to carry them to the several sea-ports, where those ships and fleets were to take them on board.

How would this be the cause of employing a thousand sail of ships, and perhaps three times as many, in England, to bring the coals from one place, salt from another, cheese from another, lead from the north, block-tin from the west, corn from Hull, from Lynn, and from all the coasts of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Southampton; fish from all the seas on the east and south side of the island, and so of the rest.

How many thousands, I might say hundreds of thousands, of men and horses are employed in the carrying and recarrying to and from London the growth of England, and the importations of foreign countries; and how many of these would stand still and want business, nay, want bread, perhaps, if this great city was divided into fifteen cities, as above; and they were situated in so many different places, remote from one another, where the country within twenty or thirty miles round them would be sufficient for them, and able to supply them, and where every port would import their own goods from abroad.

In a word, we should have a general want of business; whereas now all the world, here among us, are in a hurry, and fully employed in carrying out and bringing in.

Particularly another article is to be observed; the number of people at London makes this city the centre of foreign commerce; here a great quantity of goods from all foreign countries are brought in, because here is always a market, and here they can be consumed; whereas, take all the other ports of England, many of them can send ships loaden out, but few can bring them loaden home. For example:—

Bristol is the most capable of this, next to London; and even Bristol cannot always dispose of the loading of ships at home. Again; Yarmouth can send, perhaps, eight or ten large ships out to the Straits; viz., to Cadiz, to Malaga, to Leghorn, to Venice, every year, laden with red herrings; but if those ships load back with currants from Zante, oil from Gallipoli; silk and Lipari raisins, and oil, from Messina; silk and wine, fine oils, anchovies, capers, &c., from Leghorn; silks, paper, sulphur, and blocks of marble, from Genoa; what shall they do with those at Yarmouth? They must all unlade and deliver their cargoes, at London; and so of the rest. So that the bulk of London makes the trade of England; and those people are greatly mistaken who pretend the bulk and growing greatness of the city is too much for the whole country; alleging, that the nation is liver-grown, and must die of a pleura; and that the city draws away the nourishment from the country, like a dropsy, which swells the body, but draws the nourishment away from the extreme parts.

But, I say, this is a mistake; even the simile itself will not hold; for this swelling the body of the city, makes it the centre of nourishment to the whole

nation ; and as every part of the kingdom sends up hither the best of the produce, so they carry back a return of wealth ; the money flows from the city into the remotest parts, and furnishes them again to increase that produce, to improve the lands, pay rent to their landlords, taxes to their governors, and supply their families with necessaries ; and this is trade.

Nor should we know anything considerable of this trade, if the greatness of the city did not cause it ; here the manufactures, as well as produce, of the several countries, are amassed for sale, as well for the circulation of commerce at home, as the exportation to countries abroad.

Here ships from all parts arrive, and several of the most considerable branches of trade are confined to this place by law ; the East India trade is all settled here ; the Greenland trade deliver all here ; the Italian thrown silk is confined to be imported here, and here only, and at no other port in England ; here the African company import all their gold, and the South-sea company all their silver ; in a word, it is the great gulf of the British trade ; and as it comes in here, so it goes out again from hence to all parts of the nation, circulating in home trade from the merchant to the consumer.

Let us observe how this would be in Spain, to go back to the same reflections as before ; there is lately published, by an authority that may be depended upon, an account of the consumption of provisions at Madrid. It is done by way of ostentation, to show the greatness of the place, and the number of its inhabitants, and a little to take notice of the plenty of flesh eaten in Spain ; in contradiction to the notion which some have in this country, that they eat more flesh in London in a month, than they do in all Spain in a year. The account is thus :—

Provisions consumed for one year in the capital town of Madrid :—

- 500,000 sheep and goats.
- 12,000 black cattle, or beeves.
- 6,000 lambs and kids.
- 9,000 calves.
- 13,000 swine.
- 90,000 arobas of oil.
- 960,000 arobas of wine ^a.
- 56,000 quintals of bacaleo ^b.

It must be acknowledged this is a very considerable quantity of provisions ; but I must add, that it is not possible to guess at the numbers of people in Madrid by this account. On the other hand, take the computation, and compare it with England, I make no doubt but the city of Bristol consumes much more, though we do not reckon one-third of the people to be in it.

It is true, the wine and the oil exceeds the expense of wine and oil in Bristol ; but if it be considered, that their oil is used as we use butter, and that wine or water is the only liquor they drink, and that they have neither malt liquor, or cider, the provisions consumed at Bristol will far exceed those of Madrid, though Madrid is said to have near 300,000 people, and Bristol not quite 100,000.

For set the butter, cheese, and milk, against their oil, and the quantity will be infinitely outdone ; and set the malt liquor, cider, and wine, against their wine alone, the quantity will exceed in Bristol, and the value much more.

As to the number of sheep and lambs, I suppose

^a Each aroba is 25lb. about three gallons and a half.

^b Bacaleo is salt fish ; a quintal is 113lb.

there will be no great difference ; but for the hogs, lambs, calves, and black cattle, I doubt not but Bristol goes greatly beyond Madrid, especially the victualling of their ships at Bristol included.

But to bring this back to my subject ; all these provisions expended at Madrid, what do they do for the country as to trade ? Truly, they employ the country very much, that is certain, and we must do justice ; and our city of Bristol does the like : but how far in the country does that employment extend ? How far do they feel the influence ? Perhaps in Spain it may go further, and the country may be concerned in furnishing corn twenty or thirty miles, and cattle forty or fifty miles ; but, after that, you find little or nothing of it.

Thus at Bristol they carry corn a great way indeed by water, down the rivers Severn and Avon, out of Gloucestershire and Worcestershire, and from the vale of Evesham ; likewise they bring cider from Herefordshire down the Wye, Cheshire cheese by the Severn, out of Shropshire, and butter from South Wales by sea ; and so Bristol may affect all those countries.

But their black cattle are supplied from Somersetshire and Wales ; and their mutton and corn, cheese and bacon, from Wilts and Gloucestershire, all counties just adjoining ; and after you are gone twenty miles from them, even in those counties, you scarce find any mention of Bristol : nay, one way there are other cities and great towns that intercept the provisions, so that very little comes that way, except beef ; I mean Somersetshire, where there is the city of Wells, the city of Bath, and the towns of Bridgewater and Frome ; the latter more populous than both the two former put together, though cities, if we may believe fame and travellers.

Thus trade receives but little influence from such places as Madrid in Spain, or Bristol in England, except it be just in the adjacent counties, and within twenty or thirty miles of the place.

But bring this back to London, and consider the multitudes of people there, and the exceeding numbers which are gathered southward into the counties and towns for thirty to forty miles round London, almost every way, how all the country round is made populous by the vast run of business occasioned by the neighbourhood of the city, insomuch that it is supposed, if there is a million and a half of people in London, there is at least half a million more in Middlesex, and in those parts of Essex, Surrey, and Kent, which lie so adjacent to London, as to be within about ten miles of it. Now, for the supply of these two millions of people, we find the whole kingdom more or less engaged, and the wheels of trade are set a going by it almost all over the island.

Nor let us suppose that the influence is small at the remoter distances of the country; but just the contrary; for multitudes of people are employed in the extremest parts of England, for the supply of London, either with food, or fuel, or manufactures; and that to a surprising degree. For example:—

What a prodigy of trade does the bare bringing coals from the north to London keep up in the nation! They tell us thirty thousand people are always employed under ground, in digging them at Newcastle upon Tyne; a thousand sail of ships, or not many fewer, are employed in carrying them; and ten thousand seamen, lightermen, keelmen, and boatmen, in the loading, carrying, and unloading the coals.

Of the corn-trade I have spoken at large in another place. Take then the butter-trade in York-

shire and Suffolk, the cheese-trade in Wilts, Gloucester, and Warwickshire, all remote from London, and all employed for the supply of London, where, according to the most moderate accounts I have met with, above fifty thousand ton of cheese is consumed in a year, and as much butter; with this difference only, that the butter is most of it made within forty to fifty miles of London, the cheese generally from seventy to one hundred and fifty miles.

The multitudes of people concerned in and employed by these things, in the most remote parts of the kingdom, are not to be conceived, much less calculated, but by those who understand the particular funds of provisions, and the places where they are made; how many lands do they cause to be cultivated and improved, by the vast stocks of cows fed on them? how many, by the numbers of black cattle fed in the furthest parts of England, every way; as in Lancashire and Westmorland, the North Riding of Yorkshire, the counties of Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, and Sussex? such bullocks as, by the way, Spain never saw. Again; the prodigious extent of grounds in the wilder and remoter parts of Scotland one way, and Wales, another; and the mountains of Yorkshire and Durham, another; all employed in breeding, as the others are in feeding, the stores of black cattle for the market of London.

The like is to be said of the sheep, which take up whole counties, and tracts of lands, in several parts of the country; as in Leicester and Lincolnshire, Northampton and Bucks, the bank of Tees, and Romney marshes in Kent, all these for large sheep; Salisbury plain, Dorchester, and Winchester, and Marlborough downs, and all the open country between, for near fifty miles square, for middling-sized

sheep; as likewise the Cotswold hills, Leominster fields, the South downs in Sussex, Banstead downs, Newmarket, and Lincoln heaths, whose quantities are numberless, and all for the supply of London.

What an infinite number of people do these employ? what millions of acres of land do they improve? and how do they create and propagate trade even in the remotest corners of the island, all moved, supplied, and the trade supported, by the prodigious demand of all these things at the capital city? not half of which would be felt, if the capital city, and its adjacent multitudes, were, as I said above, separated, and dwelt in ten or fifteen several cities remote from one another, and every one subsisting, as it were, by itself; I say, though there would be the same number of people to feed, there would not be half the trade or business occasioned to feed them by.

The hurry, the bustle, the throng that is to be seen here, evidently add to the trade; people beget a throng of business: how many trades does it employ? what crowds do they call for upon that very occasion, which in the divided circumstances of things, would not be thought of? For example:

What need of hackney coaches in smaller cities, either for the hurry and despatch of business, or for pleasure, where the numbers abate the variety of both? How many are there at Bristol, at Exeter, at Norwich, or at Newcastle upon Tyne? Edinburgh, though a capital of a kingdom separate, and once blessed with a court, a parliament, a term, court of justice, and all the ceremony and necessary pomp of a royal city, had not above ten or twelve hackney-coaches; and no city or other town in Britain has any at all, except London; this therefore would be all laid aside; so there would be eight hundred hackney coachmen, and above two thousand horses,

besides other depending people, and their families, and all the farmers and carriages employed to furnish them with forage, dismissed at once out of business, and made perfectly useless in the world.

None of the rivers in Britain, except the Thames, have wherries and watermen to row on them, always plying at the stairs, and wholly depending upon the carrying persons about their business or pleasure as passengers only ; nor, if the cities of England were dispersed, as above, would any of them have occasion for such ; neither is it seen in the world where boats ply in that manner, except the wherries at London, and the gondolas at Venice : and what a small number of those would be wanting, if the city of London was reduced to about the size of Bristol !

There then would be four or five thousand watermen, some say twice the number, dismissed out of business at once ; and if you include the lightermen, bargemen, and sailors, and other people employed upon the river by the coal and the corn trade, and such-like business, more than are, in proportion, employed at Bristol, or would be here, if this city were reduced to the size of Bristol, you might, by a moderate computation, conclude thirty thousand people immediately dropped out of business, and all their families reduced.

I take this proposition about great cities, and the number of people collected together, making trade, to agree, in some measure, with what you may observe in the spring of the year, from the variety of the seasons. Take a time of drought ; and when the earth, for want of rain, is dry and parched, up comes a light flying shower and wets the surface a little, and goes off ; then comes a hot gleam from the sun, and licks it up ; and by and by comes another dash of wet, and then more sunshine ; and so

on successively and alternately, several times a day, and for a week or a fortnight together.

These light flying showers answer no end ; do little or no good ; the sun dries it up as fast as it wetted ; and, by the long intervals between, all the benefit is lost ; the ground remains hard and barren still, it is all one as a drought.

But were the same quantity of rain to fall all in one shower ; were there a weight of water sufficient to set nature at work, sink down to the root, and duly moisten the plants, give drink to the thirsty earth, and set free the imprisoned seeds, which lie baked and blocked up in the earth, and cannot get out, then the earth would be refreshed, and every-thing thrive and flourish as it should do.

I think the simile is very just ; a small body of people do nothing, as to this article of trade ; they do not influence trade, even in proportion to their numbers : like a small stream of water to a mill, it not only will not make the wheel go at a slower and a proportioned rate, but it runs by, or under it, goes off in waste, and does not make the mill go at all ; and so runs all away to no purpose.

Here a small city, and there a large town, they are good to depend upon the capital, and to have the capital, in many things, depend upon them ; but they are not able to substitute a capital, and to stand in the room of it : when they come to have the general body, the whole nation's trade, depend upon them ; instead of a capital city, then, they are nothing at all, or of little importance.

They tell us France is so situated, by the assistance of navigable rivers, that there are two-and-forty large cities, which have all a communication with the great city of Paris by water, either by sea or river navigation. And what is the consequence ? Not that these cities make Paris great and rich, but

that all these cities are made rich and great by the city of Paris.

I say the same of London, though not as to river-navigation ; but the whole kingdom of England, by its communication with London, is the same ; it is not the kingdom makes London rich, but the city of London makes all the kingdom rich.

The country corresponds with the city, but the city corresponds with all the world ; the country supplies the city with corn and cattle, that is to say with provisions ; yes, and if there was not such a city to take off and consume them, what would the country do ? how must the product of the land be sold ? how the rent paid ? The land must lie waste and uncultivated, the cattle run wild, and devour the country, or be starved and die ; the country sends up their corn, their malt, their cattle, their fowls, their coals, their fish, all to London ; and London sends back spice, sugar, wine, drugs, cotton, linen, tobacco, and all foreign necessaries, to the country ; and, above all the rest, that useful drug called money ; so that still it is the capital city that is the life of the country, and keeps them all in motion.

Again ; the countrymen shear their sheep, sell their wool, carry it from place to place ; the manufacturers set it to work, to combing, carding spinning, winding, twisting, dying, weaving, fulling, dressing, and thus they finish their numberless manufactures ; but what must they do with them ? what could a Madrid, or a Bristol, do for them ? Bristol could take off some, indeed, and does export a proportion with its neighbours, but London is the centre of the gross body of manufacture ; London answers the end of every trade abroad, and of every manufacture at home ; be it Manchester for cotton ware, Yorkshire for coarse cloth, kerseys, &c., Wilts and Gloucester

for fine cloths, Norwich for stuffs, Wales for flannels; all go to London, and all have their money in return from London.

London consumes all, circulates all, exports all, and at last pays for all; and this is trade; this greatness and wealth of the city, is the soul of the commerce to all the nation; and as there is the greatest number of tradesmen in this city, that are to be seen in any place in the world; so they again support and supply an innumerable multitude of shopkeepers and tradesmen of every kind in every part of the country.

It may be thought a little assuming, to say the city supports the tradesmen of the country; but the fact is plain; you cannot go to a shopkeeper of any note in the remotest town in England, but he holds some correspondence at London; or else he must be a mean tradesman, that buys his goods of some of his better-furnished neighbours, and they buy at London; so that the other may be said to buy at London too, only he does it at second-hand.

Nor is this all; but as all these country tradesmen buy at London, so they all are in debt at London, more or less; they all owe the London shopkeepers money; so that the whole country may, in some respects, be said to trade upon the city's stock; the London tradesmen giving them all credit.

It is indeed a little remote from the subject of inland trade; or else it is very remarkable, and worth our observing, that the city of London trades with such an immense stock, that it may be said to give credit to all the world; all the trades they carry on abroad, almost in every part of the world, are carried on by the strength of their stocks; they do not receive the goods from abroad, and so make the returns back to the several countries from whence they come; but they send their own goods

first out, and receive the goods of other countries back in payment.

Thus in all the ports of Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Turkey, the merchants of London have their houses as they call them there ; the warehouses are piled full up to the ceilings with English bales ; English stocks carry on the trade ; in a word, we give credit to all the world.

Not a fleet of Portuguese ships from the Brazils, not the galleons or flota from New Spain ; but the gold of the first, and the silver of the last, or at least a great share of it, is the product of English stocks, and belongs to London merchants, whose goods, sold upon credit at Lisbon and Cadiz, went first out to America to purchase that gold and silver.

Not a Turkey fleet, or a ship from Leghorn, Messina, or Genoa, how rich soever freighted, with the finest raw and thrown silk, the choicest drugs and gums, but it is all the effects of the merchants of London, and in return for credit first given by the city of London.

It is the like in the plantation-trade ; all the New England trade, the Jamaica trade, the Barbadoes trade, it is all carried on by the stocks of the English merchants.

The sugars, the tobaccos, the furs, the turpentine, the cocoa, the indigo, and all the rest of the produce of our colonies, it comes home in return from all those islands for the goods long before consigned to them from London ; so that, in a word, almost all the plantations are managed upon the stocks and substance of the citizens of London.

To bring it all back to what I observed before ; as this vast correspondence abroad is thus carried on by the city of London upon its own stock, and they give credit to all the world ; so, when those

returns come back, they disperse all those goods again among the country tradesmen, and give them credit too ; and this is the effect of a capital city. A capital city carries on a capital trade, and enriches and employs the whole country ; which, if the same people dwelt in a divided and separate capacity, would not be the case at all.

So many deductions must be made from the home trade, that thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of people now employed in collecting the commerce thus to one place, would then be left without business, and, by consequence, without bread ; as in the country, if the sheep fed all about the farmers' houses, as the swine do, or were domesticks like their dogs, and not in flocks, requiring to be tended and directed, there would be no employ for all the shepherds, which, in the west and northern parts of England, are maintained by keeping, and waiting upon, and folding them ; so the necessary attendance upon the trade, as it all goes up to, and comes back from London, how many thousands of people does it employ ?

It is ordinarily said, that there are thirty thousand higgleries, and travelling market-folks, as we call them, about this city ; a poor sort of people, that are wholly employed to bring butter, eggs, pigeons, fowls, chickens, &c., to London market, and bring veal, and pork, and smaller things, up and down from house to house ; and every one of them have a horse, some more, some carts ; some of them come forty or fifty miles : these would be all out of business, except only such as lived within four, or five, or six miles of the place.

The like of gardeners, whose numbers are now, within a few years, so prodigiously increased, and who now keep carts, and whole teams of horses, or large luggage-boats upon the river, and employ an

incredible quantity of land for ten miles distance round the city ; whereas were it a Bristol or an Exeter, no such thing would be removed above a mile from the place, nor so many horses and servants be employed by nineteen in twenty.

These are some of the benefits of a capital city, as to trade : I might give a great many examples of other advantages, which a conflux of people necessarily brings with it ; but it is enough ; the magnitude of the English inland commerce is a testimony of it ; the influence of the city upon it all, has evidently been not the support only, but the very birth and foundation of the trade itself.

The city of London is such a fund of commerce, as indeed cannot be described in a narrow compass ; the tradesman of it, however some of them are degenerated, and whatever deficiencies may be found in the conduct of such, as such, yet it must be acknowledged they carry on a wonderful trade, and are the great support of it throughout the whole island, and even to Ireland, and the colonies, as well as a great benefit to every nation round them upon the continent ; more indeed than were to be wished as to other nations, in those articles which add to our luxury.

And thus much for the honour of this glorious city, London. We might say much more in its behalf, and yet not be just to its trading merit ; but less we could not say.

CHAP. XXXV.

The tradesmen of England of high importance to the whole kingdom. The greatest tradesmen not above the reach of misfortune. Brief advices to such as are grown rich; particularly with regard to honesty, and trading tyranny.

It is most certain that the greatest stroke of trade in the whole world is carried on under the hands, and by the stocks, of the tradesmen of Great Britian; they are the life of all the inland trade of the nation, the whole manufacture and produce goes through their hands; they are, in all their circumstances, beyond our calculation; in their number, beyond all conjecture; in their substance, beyond all account; as also in the credit they both give and take for the carrying on the said commerce.

As they are then so considerable a body, and really much more than I can set forth in writing, it is not of small import to speak to them by way of instruction. The ill or well government of such a body of people must be of consequence to the public interest; the evil or good management of such a weight of business must have a great deal depending upon it; the consequence of any general mistake, and of any false steps, taken in an affair which the whole community of trade must be so much concerned in, must be very great. Any stagnation of credit, any alteration of coin, any public tax, imprudently laid upon this or that branch of the trade, where it is rivalled by foreigners, how do such

things spread their influence through the whole body, and give a wound not to this or that tradesman in particular, but to the whole article of trade in general?

I could give instances of public disasters, which, when they fall upon trade, are to it as public calamities are to a nation; and this is the reason why seasonable advices to tradesmen are far from being to be esteemed needless or impertinent.

Not that I presume to instruct all the tradesmen of Great Britain; but something may possibly be said, which every one may pick useful things from, and apply to proper purposes for the general good. The wiser tradesmen will make good use of those advices, which they have the least occasion for; and the rest will both find occasion for them, and make use of them with prudence for their own advantage.

As in the former chapters I directed the tradesman how to thrive, I am now telling him how to behave when thriven, how to improve upon his improvement, grow richer after he is rich, and to act in the shape and appearance of an established tradesman.

It is never too late to give a tradesman caution to maintain his character, preserve the reputation he has got, and keep his money. Great miscarriages have happened in trade to persons who once thought themselves as much above the world as any tradesmen now can do, and out of the reach of disaster, or even the possibility of a blow. How many such have I seen come down, even till they came below contempt!

The tradesman, as he never is out of danger of being overborne in his commerce, so he is never out of the danger of a blow to his credit; and for

both those reasons cannot be out of the reach of good counsel.

One of the greatest dangers attending a thriving tradesman is, lest he should do some little weak thing to adventure his credit, or some gross and foolish thing to endanger his stock.

There are adventures in the British trade too big for any man's single head ; too great for the grasp of their estates, let them be what they will. And as the rich well increased tradesman has a great stock in trade, so he has a great fund of credit ; and he ought to be more cautious than another man how he does anything to lessen his character and wound his credit.

A great tradesman, like a great tree in a thick wood, if he falls, he is sure to crush a great deal of the underwood which lies within the reach of his boughs and branches. A young tradesman miscarries, and it reaches but a little way ; a few creditors are affected, and some hurt is done ; but if the overgrown tradesman falls, he shakes the exchange, as we call it ; he pulls down here half a dozen, and there half a score ; and they pull down others, and, like rolling ninepins, they tumble down one another.

The first thing I shall insist upon, with regard to this superior class of tradesmen, is their honesty.

Honesty is never out of season to a tradesman ; but more essential when he is grown great and rich, than even at his beginning. At first we say, there is no fear of him, he dares not be a knave ; his stock of credit being just in its rise, and the foundation but just laying, he cannot but know that the least unfair action exposes him at once, and he is blown up and gone.

But when the tradesman is grown rich, his character established, and his credit past danger, then

he can take greater liberties than he durst do before ; then is the trial of his principles, as an honest man ; and then indeed is the most danger of his being a knave.

Every station of life has its snares attending it, and every degree of business its invitation to evil :

1. Necessity tempts the poor man ;
2. Avarice tempts the rich.

It is true, they are both, to the last degree, criminal in yielding to the temptation ; but the latter much more than the former ; for he is tempted by that which is in itself a crime. It is not criminal to be poor ; necessity is no offence till it makes itself a snare, and places itself in the devil's stead ; but avarice is a crime in its nature ; the first is an accident to the man, a circumstance of life, and comes from without ; but avarice is within the man, it is mingled with his animal life, and runs in his blood.

It is not less to the purpose, in speaking to the superior rank of tradesmen, to admonish them of another dangerous article, which is, trading tyranny ; and that they should avoid, as much as in them lies, making themselves a grievance in trade, a prejudice to the commerce itself, as well as to their neighbours. It is certain that a rich well thriven tradesman may be a blessing to the public, as he is a credit to it ; and he may carry on a great trade without being an hindrance to others, especially if he will preserve the title of a fair and generous tradesman, that is, be willing to let other men live by him, and live with him, and trade.

But if, on the other hand, he sets up to be an engrosser in trade, if by the united strength of his cunning and of his stock, he commits spoil, and, as

it may be truly called, ravages the trade, and runs down his neighbours, he is not only so far a public grievance in trade, but is not indeed an honest man; for he is far from doing as he would be willing other men should do by him.

However, I have touched this point as gently as I could, it being my intention only to convince the rich tradesman that it is not a fair way of trading, and that by this practice he becomes an oppressor, nay, a plunderer, a mere trading dragoon; and destroys not the tradesman only, but trade itself.

CHAP. XXXVI.

How the honest tradesman, who by time and long success in trade, is grown well to pass, ought to govern himself, and guard against disasters which naturally attend a prosperous circumstance in trade. The happy situation of a thriving tradesman, who knows when he is well.

We are now to suppose a tradesman, having been twenty years, or perhaps more, in his business, and having pursued it with an honest diligence, is beforehand in the world, and begins to be called a rich man.

I'll take it for granted too, that, having prospered thus long, he has gained a reputation and character in the world; that he is deemed an honest, open-hearted, generous, fair-dealing tradesman; that every body speaks well of him, loves to deal with him; and whether they get or lose by him, they are always pleased; that he treats the rich with

good manners, and the poor with good language ; and that in particular he is a punctual paymaster ; that when he has made a bargain, whether he gets or loses by it, he always performs it, without murmuring or cavilling ; that he takes no unjust advantage, does not lie upon the catch to supplant anybody, and scorns, in short, to do an ill thing, though he might gain by it ; that his word is as sacred as his bond ; that he never grinds the face of the poor, but pays for his work cheerfully and readily, and is content to let poor men live by him ; that he scorns to make mistake pass for payment, or to lie upon the catch to trepan his neighbour ; in a word, that he is a fair, downright, honest man ; God has blessed him, and every body gives him a good word.

Yet with all these advantages I must remind him, that, while he continues to trade, he is never safe ; his condition is subjected to innumerable casualties and unavoidable disasters ; no estate is so big as not to be in hazard, no posture of his affairs out of the reach of accidents ; so that the tradesman can never call himself a safe man, till he is entirely drawn out of trade, and, safe in his country retreat, can say he has no more to do with business.

Hence, then, the tradesman is not above caution, let his condition be what it will ; and my caution is this, never to run out of his business into hazards, great undertakings, capital adventures, wild experiments, upon presumption of success, and upon prospect of new advantage, and further gain. Methinks a man that has once 20,000*l.* in his pocket, should not want to be advised to be satisfied with the road of business which has raised him to that height, and not to hazard a fall, in order to rise higher ; for he that does not think himself rich enough with 20,000*l.* in his pocket, neither would he be satisfied

one jot the more if he had five times that sum. Where was the man, in the late distracted times, who thought himself well, and sat still, content with the most immense sum? Had it been possible, we had not had so many ruined families now among us, cursing their own avarice, and lamenting their folly.

Let the wise and wary tradesman take the hint; keep within the bounds where Providence has placed him; be content to rise gradually and gently, as he has done; and as he is sufficiently rich, if he will make it more, let it be in the old road; go softly on, lest he come swiftly down.

Nothing is more common than for the tradesman, when he first finds himself grown rich, to have his head full of great designs, new undertakings. He finds his cash flowing in upon him, and perhaps he is fuller of money than his trade calls for; and as he scarce knows how to employ more stock in it than he does, his ears are the sooner open to any project or proposal that offers itself; and I must add, that this is the most critical time with him in all his life; if ever he is in danger of ruin, it is just then.

1. He is first of the opinion, that no money ought to lie idle; what though it is an adventure a little out of the way? he only employs some loose corns in it, some small sums that he can spare, and which he does not value; if he loses them, it won't hurt him, and the like.

2. That it is a probable undertaking; that it may hit, and then he shall do his business at once; and then come all the great things in his head that ambitious men fire their thoughts with, which turn the windmill of his brain so fast, that they make him delirious in trade, and he is a mere trade lunatic ever after.

This, therefore, I say, is the most critical time of a tradesman's life ; at this moment he is in more danger of being undone, than when he had not 500*l.* in his pocket. For

The richer he is, the bolder he is apt to be in his adventures, not being to be so easily wounded by a loss ; but as the gamester is tempted to throw again, to retrieve the past loss, so one adventure in trade draws in another, till at last comes a capital loss, which weakens the stock, and wounds the reputation ; and thus, by one loss coming on the neck of another, he is at last undone.

Trade is a safe channel to those that keep in the fair way, so the sailors call the ordinary entrance into an harbour ; but if, in contempt of dangers and of fair warnings, any man will run out of the course, neglect the buoys and marks which are set up for the direction of sailors, and at all hazards venture among the rocks, he is to blame nobody but himself if he loses his ship.

I know no state of life, I mean in that we call the middle station of it, and among the sensible part of mankind, which is more suited to make men perfectly easy and comfortable to themselves, than that of a thriving tradesman ; he seems not only thoroughly settled with respect to his circumstances, but that settlement seems the best secured and established ; and though he is not incapable of a disaster, yet he is in the best manner fenced against it of any man whatever.

His life is perfectly easy, surrounded with delights ; every way his prospect is good ; if he is a man of sense he has the best philosophic retreats that any station of life offers him ; he is able to retire from hurry, to contemplate his own felicity, and to see it the least encumbered of any state of the middle part of life.

He is below the snares of the great, and above the contempt of those that are called low: his business is a road of life, with few or no uneven places in it; no chequered work, no hills and dales in it, no woods and wildernesses to lose his way and wander in: plenty surrounds him, and the increase flows in daily; like a swelling tide, he has a flood without an overwhelming, deeps without drowning, heights without falling; he is a safe man, nothing can hurt him but himself; if he comes into any mischiefs, they are of his own choosing; if he falls, it is his own doing, and he has nobody to blame but himself.

CHAP. XXXVII.

How necessary it is that trade should run through as many hands as it can. The public interest of trade and the nation requires that the prices of our manufactures should be kept up to a reasonable height. The benefits of trade to a people. The wages of the poor not to be too much reduced.

AN honest sailor, when, by the assistance of his experience, he knows the entrance, and how to carry his ship safe into harbour, will do nothing to bar or block up the passage against those that come after him; on the contrary, he leaves all the marks and buoys which have been a guide to him, exactly in their first position, that others may steer with safety the same way after him.

In like manner, it would not be unjust only, but malicious, if a tradesman who is got into a channel

of trade by his success, and gained an estate, should purposely render that channel impracticable to others.

There is a maxim in trade, especially in the home trade, which will ever remain true, that the more hands it goes through, the greater public advantage it is to the country it is carried on, or managed in ; and therefore it is not always the true interest of a manufacturer in this or that particular place, to shorten or lessen the needful expense of trade, though it should render the goods something the cheaper at market. Indeed it must be always true that it is our interest to send our manufactures as cheap to a foreign market as we can, especially where they are rivalled by other manufactures of the same or a like kind. But even in that case, it were better that encouragement were given to the exportation, by taking off imposts or duties payable on the said exportation, and even by bounties given by the public to encourage the merchant, than by depredations upon the trade itself.

Every manufacture has its proper channel of trade, after it is finished as a manufacture ; as it is made in this or that particular country remote from London, it is, generally speaking, sent up to London for sale ; there it is sold by a factor or warehouse-keeper to the merchant for exportation, or to the shopkeeper for retailing, or to the wholesale-man for sending again into other countries proper for its sale, and to the shopkeepers there for retail, and so on.

The sheepmaster who shears and sells the fleece, and the shopkeeper who sells the cloth or cloths ready made by retail, are the first and the last tradesmen concerned in the whole trade ; and the more hands this manufacture, suppose of cloths or stuff, passes through, either in the workmanship or carriage, or sale of the goods, provided the goods

themselves are able to support it, so much the greater benefit is that manufacture to the public stock of the nation ; because the employment of the people is the great and main benefit of the kingdom.

The wearer or consumer's buying the cloth or stuff sixpence a yard, or a suit of clothes two or three shillings the cheaper, is not equivalent to the public to the finding bread and subsistence, as it passes, for six or seven families who might otherwise gain their living by that manufacture, if it went in the ordinary channel. For example :—

Suppose the manufacture be a piece of broad-cloth, and is made at Warminster in Wiltshire : the clothier, when it is finished, sends it up by the carrier to London, to Mr. A., the Blackwell-hall factor, to be sold. Mr. A., the factor, sells it to Mr. B., the woollendraper. Mr. B., the woollendraper, sells it to Mr. C., shopkeeper at Northampton ; and he cuts it out in his shop, and sells it to D.—E.—, esq., a country gentleman, and other gentlemen about him, to make them new suits of clothes, and so they are the last consumers ; also it is sent down by the carrier from London to Northampton.

Now between the Wiltshire clothier and the Northampton shopkeeper, here are no less than four important families of tradesmen, who get their living, and perhaps in time grow rich by their business in the negotiating, as I may call it, this cloth.

1. The carrier from Warminster to London ; his pay comes to, perhaps, five shillings per cloth, which is twopence per yard upon the cloth at market.

2. Mr. A., the Blackwell-hall factor, has his commission at two-and-a-half per cent., which, if this cloth be sold for fifteen shillings a yard, amounts to fourpence-halfpenny per yard.

3. Mr. B., the woollendraper, selling it to Mr. C., the shopkeeper at Northampton, and giving him perhaps six to nine months' credit, he cannot afford to get less than ninepence or a shilling per yard by him.

4. The Northampton carrier, for carriage, must have something, suppose about three-halfpence per yard for carriage; all which amounts to one shilling and eightpence per yard advance upon the cloth.

But now here is Mr. F. G., another shopkeeper at Northampton, an overgrown tradesman, who having more money than his neighbours, and wanting no credit, he finds out where these cloths are made, and away goes he to Warminster directly, settles a correspondence with the clothiers there, buys their goods, and has them brought directly by horsepacks to Northampton; and perhaps paying ready money, tempts the clothier to sell it him a penny per yard cheaper too than his factor sold it at London to the woollendraper.

By this means the following incidents happen in trade, and the following advantages to the rich shopkeeper at Northampton.

1. The carriage from Warminster to Northampton he must pay, which being a little further than to London, and out of the ordinary road, may amount to twopence a yard upon the cloth; but buying perhaps three or four horsepacks at a time, he has it carried cheap; and, moreover, finding ways to load the horses out with wool, still, by the strength of his great stock, he makes his advantage both ways, and gains so much, that the carriage of his wool and his cloth costs him nothing; for he sends the clothier the wool and brings the cloth back.

Thus he has his cloth two shillings and sixpence

per yard cheaper than his neighbour shopkeeper ; and by selling it so much cheaper to D. E. esq., and others, he gets all their custom from his poor neighbour tradesman, who can sell it to nobody but such people as, perhaps, being in his books, must buy of him because they owe him money.

But this is not all ; for this Mr. F. G., of Northampton, buying thus of the clothier, here the carrier of Warminster, the Northampton carrier, and Mr. A., the Blackwell-hall factor, are sunk out of the trade ; and the latter, Mr. B., the woollen-draper, having a great family, and sitting at a high rent, is ruined, by the loss of his wholesale trade ; so he runs out, breaks, and is undone. Thus the channel of trade is turned, the stream is cut off, and all the families that were employed between them are cut out of their business, and turned loose in the world to get their bread some other way, or perhaps want it.

And what is all the benefit which is made by this spoil upon trade ? Only this, to make one covetous man rich ; and that squire D. E., of Northamptonshire, may buy his suits of clothes so much a yard cheaper ; which is of no great concern to him, nor does he value it, nor is it of any moment in proportion to the wound which trade receives by it, in all the particulars mentioned above.

This is cutting off the circulation of trade ; this is managing trade with a few hands ; and if this practice, which is indeed evidently begun, was come to be universal, a million of people in England, that now live handsomely by trade, would be destitute of employment, and their families, in time, want bread.

Nor, in conculsion, would the gentlemen, or last consumers, be bettered by it at all ; for this want of

employment would in the end drive away the people, and the mouths would be wanting for the bread, as well as the bread for the mouths ; the growth of the land not being consumed, the rents must fall of course ; and so the mischief would circulate, as the trade should have done. Certainly the gentlemen find their interest in the dearness of the manufacture, if it may be called dearness, whether they will see it or no ; it is highly their advantage to have multitudes of people upon their lands ; and nothing can keep the people together like something that can find them employment.

There is another fundamental in the prosperity of a nation, which will never fail to be true ; viz., that no land is fully improved till it is made to yield its utmost increase ; but if our lands should be made to yield their utmost increase, and your people cannot consume it, or foreign trade take it off your hands, it is then no increase to us, and must not be produced ; so that the lands must be laid down, that is to say, a certain proportion of them, and left to bear no corn, or feed no cattle, because your produce is too great for your consumption.

Hence it is a certain and unquestioned benefit to a nation, to increase the number of people, that they may consume the product of the land : but then this is supposed to be an increase of such people as can not only consume the provisions, but can pay for them too ; for an increase of beggars is no increase at all, in the sense of trade.

And how shall the numbers of such people be increased, but by finding employment for them ? Let any experiment of this kind be referred to : let any man erect a manufacture in a village, where there are but few inhabitants ; if that manufacture goes on, and there are wages to be paid constant, and

work to be had, there will soon be people. Where business leads, the people always follow. If people did not come in immediately, being kept out by parish laws, they would soon increase by those who had or could obtain legal settlements, staying all at home ; whereas where there is no constant employment, the people scatter and disperse, and seek settlements where they can get employment.

Thus you see, wherever there are manufactures there are always crowds of people ; the towns grow populous, and are thronged with working poor till they grow rich, the people still increasing. Thus it is in the West Riding of Yorkshire ; thus in Norfolk, about Norwich, and the country round ; at Exeter, and all over the county of Devon ; and the like in other parts : wherever the trade is, there are the people.

The consequence of this is, that where these populous towns are, the country cannot produce enough to feed them ; but they buy the provisions from the neighbouring provinces or counties.

On the other hand ; where there are no manufactures, there is no employ for the people : where the inhabitants are only landlord and tenant, there the people cannot consume the product of the earth ; and did not the next or neighbouring counties take off their corn and cattle, the poor farmers and tenants would not know what to do with them, or how to pay their rent.

Thus trade is the support of the whole community, employs the people, keeps them at home, and in throngs together, by which the produce of the country is consumed, which is the life of the whole country. It is certain, that were it not for trade, the people of England would not be able to consume the provisions which the land produces ; and even as it is, they could not do it, were it not that great

quantities of corn are every year exported into foreign countries. Should a large and good crop, and a seasonable harvest come in, and no demand for corn come from abroad, it is hard to express what our case in England should be ; and though it is an expression which may at first sight appear strange, yet it is actually so, we should be cursed with plenty.

There was a time when this was more sensibly felt in England, perhaps, than in most parts of Europe, viz., from the year 1680 to the revolution, a small interval of one piece of a year of drought excepted. There was, during those eight years, an uninterrupted series of plenty, not in England only, but in all the neighbouring nations of Europe ; so that we had not only great plenty at home, but no demand from abroad.

The consequence of this was, that the best wheat was sold at the great markets near London, such as Farnham, Dartford, Hampstead, Hertford, Hitchin, and other known markets, at from sixteen to eighteen shillings per quarter ; and further off, as in Northamptonshire and Bedfordshire, Hampshire, Sussex, and places of like distance, at thirteen to fourteen per quarter.

And as this cheapness held for so many years, what was the consequence of it ? Truly this, that all the farmers in England, generally speaking, were in a sinking condition ; many broke every year ; and it was impossible that those who depended upon nothing but their labour and the crop, could pay the rent. I remember to have seen a farmer who had twenty acres of good wheat, a fair and flourishing crop, yet when it came to market, it would not pay for the seed, the husbandry, the harvesting, and threshing, and carriage to market ; all the rent

of the land sunk, and to be paid out of his dead stock.

Nor was the goodness of the crop any advantage to the poor farmer; but the more corn, the more charge of reaping, housing, threshing, cleaning, and carrying to market: and where the price was so small, it could ill pay those charges, except that, oftentimes, the poor man did most of that work himself.

Had this continued till now, most of the farmers all over England had been beggars; the farms would in most places have been thrown up, and the landlords must have turned ploughmen, or the rent of lands must have sunk extremely low; which is, in short, sinking the fee simple, and reducing the estates of the gentry all over the nation.

Those that enter into these particulars may make this useful observation; namely, that it is trade alone that can remedy this evil. Employing numbers of people, secures the consumption of the produce; and that keeps up the price, and by consequence the rate of the lands; this keeping up the price of the produce enables the farmer to pay his rent. If our manufactures were so increased by trade, that they could maintain more people than the land could feed, and that, as the Dutch do at this time, we were obliged to fetch all our corn, or great part of it, from abroad, it would most certainly be an advantage to the public, and the rent of lands would rise in proportion.

Trade maintains multitudes, and increases them by the consequence of their labour.

Trade raises towns, cities, and populous villages, by bringing the people together to particular places, where the commerce fixes, and where the manufactures are fixed.

Trade employs the people, and pays them wages for their labour.

Trade increases by those people consuming and wearing the manufactures they make, as well as the provisions they buy.

Thus trade is a public benefit; and, in a word, the wealth of families, the rates of lands, and the strength of the nation, depend all upon trade.

As trade then is a public benefit, the tradesmen are a public blessing: for they are the men that carry it on; or, as I observed before, may very well be said to drive the trade; they manage it; they keep it up to its rules and regulations; they keep up the value of the manufacture, and the reputation of the manufacturer: for it is plain the credit of the manufacturer is maintained by the goodness of his manufacture.

And here I shall mention, that it is not always the interest of trade to have the manufacture be brought down to a low price, especially if the value of the goods sinks with the rate: but to keep up the manufacture to its goodness, though the price be higher than its neighbours, is a credit to the manufacture, and to the nation that make it, let them come from what part of the world they will.

It was urged by some, who suggested that our manufacture of broad-cloth will be outdone by the French, that we shall lose our Turkey trade, the French selling their cloths cheaper at Smyrna and at Aleppo than the English; and that because cheapness always causes consumption, and the French cloths were cheaper, therefore we should not sell our cloths till all the French were gone.

But experience has proved the contrary: the French cloths felt as fine, looked as well, the colours were dyed as good, the cloth-workers' part was performed as well; for the cloths were well

dressed; in a word, they looked every way as good, and at first went well off, in preference to ours.

But when they came to wear, the consumer presently found the advantage: as the English cloth weighed twenty or thirty to forty pounds a bale more than the French, at the scale; so, in the wearing, there was no comparison: the French wore like druggets, rough and woolly; the English like velvet, smooth and solid: the French wore knappy and coarse; the English wore soft and fine: the French wore into rags, and wore out; the English wore firm and lasting, even to the thread; and what followed? The consequence was plain:

The English cloth obtained credit, and increased it by its real worth:

The French cloth lost its credit, and declined by the value appearing less on the wearing.

The consequence of which was:—

The English cloth, though dearer, went always off, and was sold first:

The French cloth, though cheaper, lay on hand, and would seldom sell while there was any English cloth to be had.

So that it is not always that a lower-priced manufacture goes best off.

There is a great difference between dear and high-priced, or cheap and low-priced: goods may be high-priced, and not dear; low-priced, and not cheap. The rates of all goods are to be measured by their goodness or badness; and it is therefore the interest of tradesmen to keep up the goodness and value of their goods; and then the price, though higher than others, may be lower in propor-

tion. To keep up the goodness of the manufacture, is not only the way to keep up its rate at market, but, by that, to keep up the wages of the workmen; and it is of the utmost consequence to keep up the rate of the wages of the poor, if it can be done, upon many accounts, too long to dwell upon here.

By the height of wages, the rate of all things are supported: the price of provisions are, in the first place, maintained by it; by the price of provisions, the rent of lands are kept up; and by the rent of lands, the estates of the nobility and gentry, and the whole landed interest, are supported, and the public stock of the nation kept up and improved, as above.

Upon this account, and from the whole of what has been said, it appears, that it is absolutely necessary to keep up the rate of our manufactures to as good a price as the reason of the thing will allow: because, as the manufactures sink in price, wages abate to the poor, provisions must abate in the market, and rents must sink and abate to the landlords, taxes and pound-rates sink to the public, and the whole stock of the nation abates in its value. But the next chapter will give me an opportunity of setting this matter in a still stronger light.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

The mischiefs that attend underselling, engrossing, and such-like unfair practices in trade. That overgrown tradesmen, who are guilty of such practices, are the bane of trade, and a public calamity. The mischiefs they do to the whole public briefly but pathetically expatiated upon.

NOTHING is more frequent among tradesmen than to supplant and underwork one another in their business, by sinking or abating the value or price of their goods, to engross the trade to themselves.

This is a thing so big with mischiefs, so complicated in trading craft, and the particulars so little known or considered by the people that go that way to work, that I doubt not the honest tradesman will be thankful to be let into the consequences of it, and at least to see how it affects him.

There are^a three sorts of tradesmen who undersell their goods:—

^a Since our author wrote, this underselling practice is grown to such a shameful height, that particular persons publicly advertise that they undersell the rest of the trade.

We have had many such notices from tallow-chandlers at different ends of the town, who have proposed to sell candles ready made for a less price than they could buy good tallow for.

We have had grocers advertising their underselling one another, at a rate a fair trader cannot sell for, and live.

1. Young tradesmen newly set up: and they do it to get a trade.

2. Rich old tradesmen, who have overgrown stocks; and they do it to keep their trade, or perhaps to hurt others of the same business.

3 Poor tradesmen, who are obliged to sell to raise money; and this class may be included in the 2nd head, as they are obliged to this practice, by the necessities brought upon them by the overgrown tradesman. We shall then have occasion to speak particularly to the two first only.

First, as to young tradesmen newly set up, who think by selling cheap to get a trade, and bring custom to their shop, though the pretence is specious, yet the thing in itself is foul and unfair, and, in the end, is ruinous to the trade, and to the tradesman also. For, first, it is only deceiving the customers, whom you would persuade they shall always buy cheaper of you than of other people; whereas your design is, to make yourself amends upon them afterwards, or at least not to continue

We have colourmen advertise their colours ready mixed, in order to make one or two rich at the expense of a whole trade, and put gentlemen upon employing their footmen to rob the poor painter of his bread.

We have country peruke-makers, who stand at little or no charge, hiring only a room for their goods, and paying the poorest wages to their under-workmen in the country, who advertise against their trade in London, where rents and taxes are high, and provisions and servants' wages bear a high price.

And we have even lawyers, or rather pettifoggers, as we may suppose, advertising to draw leases, conveyances, &c., at a very low rate, in order to run down the business, and do hurt to the fair practiser.

to sell them so cheap, when you have, by this indirect means, brought custom to your shop.

This is a piece of shopkeeping craft that carries with it some little extenuation; because the customers who are so induced to come, in hopes to buy cheaper than can be well afforded, deserve little better usage; for what do they, in their turn, but intend to bite the shopkeeper? for they tell him, that they intend to be constant customers to his shop, if he sells them cheap; which is as much as to say, if he will sell his goods cheaper than he can afford, they will come and buy, and help to ruin him. And when he tells them that he does sell them cheaper than he can afford, in hopes to engage them to the shop, he ought to add, if he would speak the truth, and that he may have an opportunity to pick their pockets another time.

But to leave this petty fraud of underselling to get a trade, which is only less hurtful than others, because it goes a less way, and is but of a short continuance; there is another that is more fatal in its consequence, and that as it is of a greater magnitude.

And that is, secondly, when the rich overgrown tradesman undersells to keep his trade, or to prevent young beginners setting up by him, and to break others that are already trading within his reach; which is fatal many ways.

1. It is fatal to the poorer and lesser dealers about him, who, being undersold, and having a high rent to pay, and no trade, must be undone of course.

Nor does the mischief end here; he is not content to run down the poor tradesmen who live near him, by underselling, but he does the same in its kind by all the manufacturers whom he employs; for he will buy nothing but with the utmost grind-

ing and screwing, beating them down to the lowest pitch of living, and even below living, till they are so far from letting a tradesman or workman live under them, that, as a poor clothier said to a certain known hard buyer in the city, he will hardly give them leave to starve under him.

Now as the consequence of this goes further than what I was speaking of before, so it is more fatal; for,

First, this method is not only fatal to the poor clothier, but, in a word, it is fatal to the clothing; it is injurious to the trade itself, and ruins not the clothier, but hurts the nation. For example:—

The clothier having sold this great trader a large quantity of goods very low, and engaging with him to supply him all the year, in proportion to the same price; the first effect of this is, that the trader casts off all the clothiers whom he dealt with before, or at least those who made that sort of goods before, unless they will sell at the same price.

Secondly, other merchants in London, who are buyers of the same goods, supposing they do not at first know the particular cause or reason of it, finding an alteration, that the clothiers hang about them, and that they cannot sell their goods, and that the hall or the factors' warehouses are full of goods, piled up, as is sometimes the case, fail not to make their advantage, and to screw them down to an abatement; and the clothier, rather than not sell, and wanting money, too, to pay his spinners, and work-folk in the country, is forced to comply; and thus, by degrees, the goods are sunk at market.

But this does not end here; for the clothier, pinched in price, and not able to live at the rate he is obliged to sell at, goes down into the country; and the first thing he does, slacks his hand in quantity, and makes less; the consequence of this

is, that he dismisses so many looms, and turns off so many spinners; so there, in the first place, the employment of the poor is shortened, and the trade in general is abated.

The poor weavers and spinners go to seek other masters; but by this time the rest of the clothiers, finding the market sink, as above, are in the same condition; and they wont take more work-folk, when, as it happens, they had rather too many before; and in a little while they are fain to turn off their weavers and spinners too.

The poor being thus pinched, have these several recourses:—

1. To an abatement of their wages.
2. This brings them and their families often to depend on the charity of the well-disposed, or perhaps the parish; this not sufficiently supporting them, they are forced either
3. To fly from their misery, or
4. Go to gaol.

Thus the ruin reaches the labourer; for as it is with the master, so it must be with the servant.

First, as to abatement of price; as it was with the clothier, they will rather work starvingly than not work at all; rather pinch than perish; the wages then abate, and the poor suffer; as their pay sinks, they are obliged to pinch, fare hard, feed coarse, be clothed in rags, and the like. And what follows this? The price of provisions must follow the price of wages; for as the poor have money or not money, so they must buy, or not buy in the market; and by this means provisions, which formerly went off well, come back from the market unsold; the butcher who killed three sheep for a

market-day, kills but two ; and others that killed a bullock for a market-day in the country, perhaps kill a bullock between three or four of them.

Secondly, this being the case, if the man is not able to maintain his family, which perhaps increases upon him, while his means of maintaining them is decreasing, the parish must. Perhaps the wages he gained before was but just enough ; one pair of hands to work, and three or four pair of mouths to feed, seven or eight backs to clothe, with house-rent and fire, what can the poor man do ? He had just enough to do to live before, and now his wages are abated, perhaps, so much upon a piece as may amount to two, or three, or four shillings a week upon his labour, and in proportion as much upon the spinning, which was his wife's labour ; this brings the family into distress, and they have nothing to do but to make their case known to the parish, and they must relieve them ; this is in case the poor man stays and works under an abatement of wages.

But, as in the third case, if the man, not able to stay to see the misery of his family, runs away, lists into the army, or goes to sea, then the wife and children come to the parish wholly, and lie upon them not to help, but to keep.

Fourthly, but there is yet another case still more miserable to the family ; the poor man, not able to maintain his family by his labour, now the price or wages of his work, is sunk and abated, shifts as long as ever he can, goes on trust at the chandler's shop for necessaries of one sort, at the apothecary's for another ; here for food, there for physic ; at the baker's for bread, at the alehouse for drink, till nobody will credit him any further ; and being not able to pay what he owes, the baker arrests him ; and that being known, the alehouse-keeper loads

him with his action too, and so the rest ; till the poor creature is carried to gaol, where he can neither work at one price or another, but begs at the grate, and the first cold winter is starved, and dies in the prison ; the family are, to be sure, on this sad occasion, in the utmost distress ; and, as in the case before, they fall wholly upon the parish.

These cases happen so often, that no man who understands trade need be sent to ask another about it. And how many tumults have we had, and how many riots, and some lives lost upon it ? Nay, we are obliged to keep a party of horse in Colchester, another at Frome, and another at Bradford, at this very time, to keep the peace among the poor, and to make them acquiesce with their own misery. As to the numbers it has driven from their work, and the distressed families that have been brought to the parishes by this means, let the people of the places inform you, who labour under the weight of it.

These are some of the effects of sinking the rate of our manufacture ; and who is the better for all this ? If it did indeed increase the consumption, as is the case on many other occasions, according to the ancient maxim in trade, that cheapness causes consumption, something might be pleaded for it ; but this part, which I have stated, among the clothiers and their dealers, is not owing to a stop or decay of the foreign or domestic commerce ; but it is owing, in this case, all to the avarice of the overgrown tradesman, who would ruin his neighbours to enrich himself, and also ruin his country too, as much as lay in his power ; for everything that lowers the rate of the poor's wages, injures the public stock.

I know a great stir is made about bringing our manufacture to be as cheap abroad as may be ; that

rival nations may not be able to weaken us, or to undermine our manufacture. And this I grant most readily ; but there are a hundred ways to bring our manufacture down to a low rate at a foreign market, besides that of running down the wages of the maker ; such as taking off all duties, and, as I hinted in the former chapter, if need be, giving a bounty on the exportation to encourage it ; which bounty might be levied again upon the consumption at home, or many other ways.

Besides, sinking the rate of the wages is not the best way to render the manufacture cheap at the markets abroad ; for, as I have observed in the preceding chapter, our manufactures may be cheap, though high-priced, if the substance be rich ; and they may be dear, though low-priced, if they are mean in their value.

And if you would bring down the wages of the people that make it, whether it be that of the spinners or weavers, or whatever people you employ ; what will be the consequence ? you will lower the price, it is true ; but then you will abate the goodness too ; then you bring it to a level with other country clothing, and, in short, ruin your manufacture, ruin its intrinsic value, and that will ruin its credit at market ; and that, in effect, is to ruin your trade.

It is a mistake, to say the French and Dutch rival your manufactures. They may rival them indeed in price, in endeavouring to undersell you ; but no nation in the world can come up to you in goodness, or match the intrinsic value of the goods ; and what does all their rivalling and imitating your manufacture amount to ? if they cannot equal it in goodness, equalling it in price amounts to nothing ; a diamond may be cheap, and a cart-load of old iron may be dear. The English manufacture is always

good ; it is never dear, because the price is proportioned to the goodness ; and is more than as much better than the French, as it is in price higher ; and that is so much more than equivalent in the market.

This I say with respect to foreign trade ; but, as to our inland commerce, the cheapness or dearness of that part of our public stock, which is consumed at home, is not of one farthing value in our trade, because it is not of any weight, one way or other, in the public stock ; it is begun among ourselves, paid for by ourselves, and to ourselves, and so is the same thing ; and though all the hands it passes through, raise a gain from it, and it goes on saddled with their expense, yet the last consumer pays it all ; he loses whatever others gain, and so you are but just where you were ; it is a dance in a circle, and you end just where you began ; the people live by one another, and then live upon one another.

Thus the countryman raises the corn ; the poor buy the corn for money ; this money pays their landlords for rent ; the manufacturer employs the poor, and gives them a good price for their labour, by which they are enabled to pay the farmers or the bakers under them, for their bread ; and again the tradesman employs the manufacturer, and pays him in money, enabling him to employ the poor, the spinner, weaver, &c., and thus the money circulates with the trade.

If this tradesman grinds down the manufacturer, and abates his price, as has been hinted, the abatement circulates through the whole trade, and influences every branch, even to the landlord's rent. And what advantage is this to the nation's commerce ? not one farthing in fact. Nor indeed does even the consumer, that is, the last buyer, or wearer, ordinarily feel any advantage by it ; it is all sunk in the

pocket of the overgrown tradesman, who, by this means, becomes an oppressor of his fellow-tradesmen, and is injurious to his country, and to the commerce in general.

All regrating and forestalling of markets, is accounted so pernicious in trade, that there are laws against it, as there are against combinations and engrossings also. In short, a man thus overgrown in trade and wealth, is an engrosser and forestaller of course; he is also a combination in himself. How often have we seen one over-rich tradesman attempt, at an India sale, to buy all the coffee, another all the pepper, and so of other goods, and then put their own price upon those goods for awhile, and so impose upon the whole nation!

In short, trade ought to circulate through as many hands as possible ; and it is not for the advantage of trade in general to be managed by a few.

In the first place ; it is more in the power of those few to make combinations in trade, than it is when the tradesmen are multiplied to a great number ; two or three rich tradesmen are able to join together, and to buy up any quantity of goods ; whereas, if the trade was in the hands of a great number, they would never be brought into it, or would never agree if they were.

It is certainly better that fifty tradesmen were carrying on a particular trade, with every man a thousand pound stock, than one great overgrown tradesman with 50,000*l.* stock ; for, besides so much trade being engrossed in one hand, as would maintain fifty families, it is also in the power of that one tradesman to oppress, and perhaps injure, a hundred more ; and, in the end, ruin several of them ; this is too evident in many particulars. In a word, an overgrown tradesman is a public grievance in trade :—

1. As by his flowing stock he has the opportunity of watching advantages, and buying only of the poorest dealers; and when they, wanting money, are obliged to sell, though to loss, rather than not raise immediate cash to keep the wheel of their trade going; which is an oppression upon trade, and an advantage merely owing to the stock such rich men have above their neighbours.

2. By the vast stock they have in trade, they give large credit where they think the tradesmen they deal with are safe; and by keeping such men always in their books, they secure the customer, and make him pay a greater price than otherwise he would do; so making themselves whole that way, for what they sell at underrates at other times and to other men.

3. Where they are rivalled by any other tradesmen, they immediately sell their goods at under-prices, to get and secure the trade from that rival, and this they will do so long till they shall tire the other out, and cause him to give it over; and then they will raise their price again to the public beyond what it was at first, to make themselves amends.

4. Upon all occasions these men stand ready to buy the good bargains, to get all the pennyworths, which other tradesmen cannot do for want of money.

In a word, these are the men that can buy cheap, and sell dear, and that have infinite advantages over their neighbours; and for that very reason they are a burden and a nuisance to trade, an injury to young beginners, the ruin of the poor, and a general calamity to the whole nation; I mean, in its trading capacity only, and under the circumstances I have mentioned; for otherwise, to have men be masters of large stocks gained in trade, is an encouragement to trade itself, and a benefit to the public.

The overgrown tradesman is, in short, a trading

tyrant, and he tyrannises in a most unjust and unreasonable manner over all the tradesmen of his own class ; nay, he tyrannises over trade itself; for while it is the true interest of trade to be extended and dilated in such a manner, that as many families and as many people as possible may be employed in and maintained by it ; he, on the contrary, contracts it, crowds it into a narrow compass, manages as much in his own little circle, and perhaps with four or five servants, as would, and might, and indeed ought, to employ and maintain twenty families of head-tradesmen such as himself, or at least such as himself was when he began, and their servants, suppose two servants to each shop.

Again ; he is a tyrant and an oppressor to those very servants whom he keeps ; for suppose, for example, he keeps at a time five apprentices ; when these apprentices come out of their times, he starves them ; he prevents them ; they may easily see it is to no purpose to set up near him ; there's nobody can live within his compass ; like a high, old, over-spreading tree, which ought to be cut down, or at least the branches lopped off, for nothing will grow under it ; what with keeping the beams of the sun off, and what with dropping continually in wet weather, and shedding a whole surface of leaves at another season, its greatness and breadth makes the very soil barren about it ; nothing can thrive under its shade. So that, in short, he breeds up apprentices to nothing ; he takes their money, indeed, and has the benefit of their seven years' services ; and when they come out of their times, they are just where they were ; they can do nothing for themselves, unless they go out of his reach ; and as that is to go out of their own knowledge too, so all the acquaintance they have made in the time of their service, is of no use to them.

Nor does it end here; but, perhaps, in the town they go to, there's such another trading tyrant, and so on in a third place; as, to speak the truth, there are few trading towns without; what, in this case, must young tradesmen do? The answer is best given by pleading the fact; what do they do? They set up, and labour in the fire; some few struggle hard, and, by dint of industry and stock, make shift to hold it, till kind death, or some other accident, removes the tyrant tradesman; and then the stream of trade that was dammed up, breaks out, and every one gets some; as in a great drought, a hasty rain making a flood, the lowlands drink in their fill, and then the rest are refreshed.

But in the mean time, how many poor young tradesmen are crushed: and, not being able to live under the droppings of this great tree, languish awhile, starve, and die away! that is to say, fail and break, or waste what stock they had, and are obliged to give over, for fear of it: in which last case, they always come off with wounds and scars, losses, and lessening of their fortunes; and this makes so many young tradesmen go abroad, pushing some into one business, some into another, and some into the army.

Such a person then, in short, is a calamity to trade; since to have too much trade engrossed into one hand, is taking the bread from the mouths of many others that have a right to be fed with it; and is an exorbitance, which, if it were possible, ought to be prevented. Trade should be a current channel, and ought to flow for the benefit of the whole body: industry claims an encouragement; and though a great and rich tradesman cannot be legally limited and restrained from continuing in trade as long as he pleases; yet such a man may be told, that he should not make himself an oppressor

in trade ; that he should not be an unfair trader at his latter end, that it was not so in his beginning ; that he should have a just regard to the trade itself, as well as to his private and particular profit ; not to run down the price of goods, or the labour of the poor, only because he can gain when others cannot.

CHAP. XXXIX.

That a tradesman should avoid going to law for his right, if possible. The mischiefs of being litigious, both to a man's self, and those with whom he deals. The only justifiable end of going to law must be peace ; and therefore, when there is a necessity for it, it should be done with temper and charity. Forbearance to poor honest debtors, the best policy in a creditor, as well as an act of humanity. Rules to be observed by a creditor in this case.

To plead that every man, even the best of men, stands in need of the mercy of his Almighty creditor, and should therefore show to his fellow-creature the mercy he every moment of his life has occasion to supplicate for himself, might possibly carry too grave a face with it to some persons in the present age. We will therefore touch thus gently on this, however, very necessary thing to be remembered by all men, and leave it on the consideration of the rigid creditor ; and proceed to admonish him from other motives, those of a more political nature, and which generally affect men more immediately, as the consequences are immediate, while the other, though of infinitely more importance, we are apt to think

more remote, than sometimes, to our irretrievable misery, we find it.

There cannot be a greater testimony of a tradesman's want of understanding, or of his real deficiency of brains, than this of his being litigious, and apt to quarrel; taking advantage of every man, and pushing those advantages, whether just, or unjust, awing and terrifying poor men to extremities with going to law with trifles.

As nothing but a man of weak parts, or bad principles, can delight in making himself a terror and plague to all around him, so he has the reward of it; he is sure to be first hated, then shunned, and at last despised.

Nor is this temper any easier to themselves than it is to their neighbours; for they are every day impoverishing themselves, to carry on the litigious practice; constant lawsuits and constant charges eat them up; and though they should get the better, they are losers by the quarrels they raise.

I knew a tradesman that, generally speaking, had these kinds of broils always upon his hands; and he was the most uneasy man alive: he was always paying lawyer's bills, always reading over bills in chancery exhibited against him; for it was observed, he was always plaintiff at common law, and defendant in chancery; that is to say, that he pursued his neighbours first upon every slight advantage, and they always sought relief in equity, and generally had it too: for he was most injurious in his first pretensions; and he that is so, will always have the worst of it in equity, whatever he may have at common law.

This man spent, for some years before he left off, 200*l.* a year in lawsuits, and oftentimes paid both plaintiff's and defendant's charges, and very rarely, if ever, got the money the suit cost him; it was

well if he came off without paying their costs whom he went to law with, and his own also.

It is true, he was not reduced to poverty by it ; but he was always kept embroiled and embarrassed, and was not so rich as he would otherwise have been : at last he met with one crabbed tradesman, who held him so hard to it, that, first and last, it cost him above 300*l.* and he was cast too, and obliged to pay costs on the defendant's side ; and this piece of costly experience cured him of that quarrelsome temper, and made him sick of the law ever after.

Who can help wishing every litigious-tempered tradesman the like success in his quarrelling proceedings, that we might have many more such converted people among us ; that is to say, that, being made wise by their own experience, they might quit this hateful disposition, and live at peace with their fellow-tradesmen ?

A tradesman wrangling in every bargain, disputing every trifle, and going to law for every dispute, living by differences, and delighting in storms and tempests, should be ranked among what we call common barreters in the law, or with scolds among women ; he should be presented as a public nuisance, a common disturber of the neighbourhood : and as the peacemaker has the blessing of heaven, and the prayers of his neighbours upon him, so this uneasy creature seems to be just in the contrary situation, and ought to expect the contrary from both.

For his own sake, therefore, for his family's sake, for the sake of a good fame among the best men, and that he may go through the world with an easy and comfortable spirit, let him study to be quiet, and to do his own business ; that is, not to be the common disturber of his neighbours, and the aversion of his dealers.

I grant, sometimes, in trade, lawsuits and contention are not to be avoided; and where there is a great business, the occasions of such breaches often happen; so that, unless the most injurious things in nature are to be borne with, and unless the defendant will suffer depredations upon his property, and even allow himself to be plundered, he must defend himself, and seek his protection in the law.

But this has no relation to what I am speaking of; this is not to be litigious, but to defend a man's interest and family against the litigious quarrelling dealer: and in this case he is forced to do himself justice; nature requires it; duty to his family requires it; and indeed, necessity calls upon him to do it.

But in this case, it is the plaintiff, not the defendant, that is the quarrelling litigious tradesman, and who justly comes under the reproof of this work. The difference is very plain, in the manner of their going to law: the quiet, honest, inoffensive tradesman may be plaintiff; but the querulous, litigious tradesman, is very rarely defendant: he always falls out first; he is easy to quarrel, loath to be reconciled; he does no right, and takes no wrong; this is the man that should be deemed a common disturber in the sense of the law, and especially in the sense of his neighbours.

I think I need say very little to set out, to the considering tradesman, the hateful picture of this kind of man, and less to warn him from following the example: he is the contempt of his rich, and the aversion of his poorer neighbours, the scandal of his trade, and the terror of his customers.

The happy medium between these extremes, and which I would recommend to the complete tradesman, is,

1. Not to delay paying a just debt, if able to discharge it, but to pay it without putting his creditor to the charge of suing for his own.
2. Not to give any man trouble, though for a just debt, where there is any probability of obtaining it without, nor till all reasonable and friendly methods are tried to avoid it.
3. When obliged by necessity to go to law for his right, to do it with civility, with tenderness, without exposing the debtor more than needs must, and without putting him to more than necessary charges.

As it is in matters of debt, that all possible means should be used to avoid coming to extremities with the debtor; so in matters of contest as to right and wrong, the honest peaceable tradesman will, as far as in him lies, prevent a decision at law: if it be possible he will bring all differences to a friendly accommodation, by expostulation, by application, by arbitration, nay, and even abating sometimes much of his demands, for peace sake.

When two tradesmen of this pacific temper meet, a reference never fails to put an end to all disputes between them. A man who means honestly, is never afraid or ashamed to refer all his differences to the next unbiassed and indifferent man he meets; he embraces all occasions of bringing such things to an amicable conclusion; he leaves no stone unturned to persuade his opposer to convince him he is wrong; that he does him injustice; that to contend at law is but weakening himself, and injuring both; that it is but throwing away their money, which is the life and blood of their trade; like princes making war for trifles, where both sides are sure to be losers.

It is possible, that both the contending tradesmen

may be in the right, and both in the wrong; that is to say, one may be right in one particular, and one in another, while both the particulars are part of the dispute. If both are peaceably inclined, a grave neighbour, of a healing disposition, a man of sense and temper, being called in, never fails to make up the breach, to reconcile all the differences, and show them how easily they might, with the help of a little moderation, have done it without him.

On the other hand, if two tradesmen, who are men of passion, hot, quarrelsome, and given to law-suits, happen to meet in a breach, it is like two enemies meeting in a mine; one brings fire, and the other gunpowder, and both are blown up together.

In order then to prevail with the man of business to act upon a better view, and with wiser measures, we need do no more than recommend to him the example of the litigious tradesman; when, as we say in other cases, he meets with his match; when two such fiery, hot-headed people meet together, let him but calmly observe how, like two mastiffs, they worry one another; how they waste their substance in the needless expense, raise their spleen in the aggravations and provocations which they meet with in the proceedings; for the rage rises with the expenses, and the men are like two lions in two cages, who are tearing one another in pieces, in imagination.

The very nature of going to law intimates that this is, in every wise man, an act not of choice but of necessity; and surely it ought to be so; and no honest man will proceed in this manner with another, if he can avoid it; for who would choose to get that by war, which he might obtain with peace?

Going to law is an appeal of right, and ought always to be done with temper; for the only justi-

fiable end of going to law is, that right being first done me, I may be at peace, may live in charity and good neighbourhood ; otherwise we make the breach in a civil matter become criminal.

For men to make a dispute at law be a formal quarrel, engage their passions in the difference, and turn their trade-breaches into breaches of temper, and breaches of charity ; this is to put off the Christian and the man of sense both together.

This way of going to law had a terrible event a few years ago, in this nation, and left a bloody example, in the late duke of Hamilton and the lord Mohun : they had been many years contending at law about an estate, and, meeting occasionally while the suit was depending, the heat of the legal process broke out in an illegal flame ; they differ in words, give and return disobliging expressions ; this kindles their passions ; both hot, both brave, and neither of them overmuch master of his temper ; in a word, they quarrel, a challenge ensues, they both meet, both fight, and are both killed. The story is too well known, and was too lately acted, to be forgot.

If the tradesman may not go to law, but upon evident necessity, and not till he is satisfied he cannot obtain his right any other way, it follows of consequence, that he should not proceed in it with personal feud and animosity ; as he should enter upon it with reluctance, so he should go on with it in the same temper ; always preserving a willingness to be reconciled, and to make an amicable end of the dispute ; always testifying, that he seeks nothing but his right ; and, that once granted, he has no further view.

This leads me to the great article of a tradesman's tenderness and compassion to his debtors,

who are justly his debtors, but perhaps are not always able to answer his demands, or at least not to answer them in their due time, either when he expects it, or indeed when reason demands it.

Yet even to such, the good, the humane tradesman will treat them with tenderness. It is true, he ought to be paid, and the debtor ought to show a just endeavour to pay him ; for it is but too true, there are some litigious tempers, even in debtors, that will abuse the utmost patience, that will delay payment, even when they are able to answer the debt ; in a word, that will not pay till they are forced, and that wickedly take all advantages possible to evade the payment of just debts, whatever charge they are at, or whatever charge they put others to.

With these I am not directing the tradesman how he should act ; as they ask no pity, so they certainly deserve none ; they are not only mischievous to themselves, but they are the cause of much severity to men of better principles, who suffer sometimes very deeply, because they are not distinguished from men who act knavishly and deceitfully.

But the creditor will soon distinguish the industrious poor tradesman, who would pay punctually if he could, and who does pay as fast he is able, from the litigious defendant tradesman, who, though able to pay, stands out to the last against a just debt : tries all possible shifts and tricks of the law, to evade, to delay, to put off ; suffers judgment by default to protract time ; brings writs of error, to hang up the cause, as they call it ; and at last, either carries his goods away and breaks, or otherwise makes it up as well as he can, to the loss of the prosecutor, as well as himself : I say, the differ-

ence between these two may be clearly discovered with very little care and caution ; and the tradesman then will know how to govern himself.

For the poor honest tradesman he forbears him, takes the money as he can pay it, shows him all the tenderness and compassion that good temper and good principles dictate to him ; and by this means often gets in his debts, which, under a rash and rigorous prosecution, would have been lost, and the poor debtor ruined also.

And this indeed is what I mention it for : a tradesman who is in condition to forbear an industrious, decaying, or reduced fellow-tradesman, will find this a general truth, with very few or no exceptions, that forbearance has saved many a poor tradesman, and been a means to his recovering in the world ; while cruelty, and furious falling upon him, has run down and ruined many a one, whose circumstances have been otherwise not desperate.

For it is an unhappy truth with many tradesmen, that misfortune seldom comes alone. The case is often derived from this original, that a rash, passionate creditor not only falls upon him, but does it perhaps with spleen and passion ; and by this means exposes the unhappy debtor to the common talk of the place, brings other demands upon him, one in the neck of another, till the man, not able to stand a storm, though he might have stood against a blast or two, is overwhelmed at once.

It is a terrible article to a poor tradesman, when he falls into the hands of a creditor of this litigious, quarrelsome temper ; he is sure to find no mercy, no good usage, no civility from him ; and at the same time he hurts his own interest ; for it is more than probable, that, with a little patience, he might have been paid all his debt.

Let me therefore repeat my advice to the creditor, for his own sake, if not for his debtor's sake.

1. To court no trade quarrels ; to go to law with nobody, though for his just due, if it may be obtained without it. What reasonable man will seek his right by violent and rough means, that may obtain it by soft and smooth methods ?

2. To try all the methods of gentleness and patience, which a forbearing temper can dictate, or which prudence, and the safety of his debt, will allow, before he proceed to rigour and prosecution.

3. If he is forced to such prosecution of right as the law directs, yet to act in it so as may testify the reluctance of his mind that he is forced to act as he does ; and that nothing of heat or passion has moved him to it, but the mere absolutely necessary care of his interest and family.

4. To proceed with all due caution for the reputation of his debtor, without exposing him where it may be avoided, without putting him to needless and extravagant expenses, and, if possible, without leaving him to the cruelty and exacting violence of bailiffs and attorneys.

5. In a word, to be always ready to put an end to such prosecutions by arbitrations, where the nature of the thing will allow them ; and upon moderate terms where they will not ; rather abating, than rigorously exacting, the utmost of his demands.

This is the temper of the truly Christian and peaceable tradesman ; this will gain him two inestimable blessings, the most valuable in life ; namely, peace of mind, and the love and esteem of all his honest neighbours.

CHAP. XL.

The almost certain good effects of an honest diligence in a tradesman. Hope, the strongest spur to industry, and the anchor-hold of the unfortunate. The happiness of preserving a clear conscience in the midst of trading disasters. The particular felicity of trading men who are able to restore their characters when they retrieve the power, and have the will to do justice to their creditors. No condition so despicable, in an English tradesman especially, but he may recover by diligence and application. That this, therefore, as well as common humanity, should free the fallen tradesman from the insults and contempt of the richer sort.

As it was the encouraging saying of a wise man, relating to the general changes of life, it is much more justly applied to the misfortunes of a tradesman, *Nil desperandum*; a diligent tradesman ought never to despair. And truly diligence is so absolutely necessary to a tradesman's prosperity, that without it he ought never to hope.

Hope is the strongest spur to diligence; and he that works without it, will never hold it long. As long as a tradesman has any hope, he will be sure to struggle with misfortunes; and as long as he can struggle, he may hope. A tradesman is the best fitted to struggle with disasters of any part of mankind; give him but liberty and something to begin with, he will not fail to engage in something or other that will turn to account. No people in the

world recover the most desperate circumstances like them.

A fallen tradesman should therefore always hope, and his hope will always keep him alive. A man that will lie still should never hope to rise ; he that will lie in a ditch and pray, may depend upon it he shall lie in the ditch and die. This has determined diligence to be absolutely necessary to deliverance, as legs are to progression.

Application may be justly called nature's crutches ; he that will not help himself shall never be helped. Heaven is always able, but heaven always requires us to be a means to ourselves, and seldom fails concurring with those means ; nay, it is so far heaven is pleased to concur, that it gives the very honour of our prosperity to ourselves, as if we were the causes of it : *The diligent hand makes rich.* We know it is the hand of heaven that makes rich ; but the text gives it to the hand of diligence, as if it were to encourage the man to application, and to bestir himself heartily ; promising him both the advantage and the credit of it, both the honour and the reward.

I have spoken to the subject of industry at large in the former volume ; but I have not mentioned it as a distress, and under the weight of discouragement, which is what I now propose.

A tradesman sets up, falls, and sinks under misfortunes, and is undone. If he is a man of no spirit, indolent, dead-hearted, and desponding, he is indeed utterly undone ; he despairs, faints, skulks under privileged places or characters, and at last sinks and dies. I have seen too many do thus, merely for want of spirit and courage to work through disaster.

But the vigorous restless man of diligence never lies still there ; he struggles, he strives with creditors, to get free ; if that will not do, he gets abroad,

turns himself round in the world ; nay, I may say, turns the world round with his application ; if one thing fails, he meets another ; if not in one place, he seeks out another ; he never gives out. I have known a tradesmen rise and fall several times, and never give it over, till at last he has conquered the world, and risen to stand.

And, indeed, nothing but unwearied diligence, and invincible courage, can work a man into business, who is once tossed out of it by the misfortunes of trade. Trade is like a rolling sea, that sometimes one wave washes a man overboard, the next returning surge washes him on board again ; as one breath of wind puffs a candle out, and the next puff blows it in again. A tradesman is never out of hope to rise ; he often revives, when the very name of him is, as it were, buried and forgotten ; if he is in this part of the globe, or in another, it is all one ; his hand, or head, or both, is always at work ; he rolls about the world like a snowball, always gathering, always increasing, till he comes to a magnitude sufficient to exist of himself ; and then he boldly shows himself in the same orbit in which he first shined ; and if he returns from the captivity of his fortunes, with an addition of integrity to that of wealth, he returns with an advantage that wipes out the infamy of his former miscarriage, and shines the brighter for the dark cloud that has so long covered him.

Thus I have known a tradesman come back after many years' absence from his business and his family ; and, having met with happier turns abroad, has called his creditors together, and, though discharged from legal demands, has thought himself obliged to make equitable satisfaction of the debt, as much as if it had been still owing in due form.

Such an one, by this gallantry of principle, tes-

tifies it was really at bottom in all his actions, whatever the unhappy exigencies of his circumstance brought him before under the absolute necessity of doing. For I must always be allowed to say, that absolute necessity too often forces distressed tradesmen to do things which they are penitents for to the last hour of their lives, and which their very souls abhorred in the doing.

But how glorious a testimony is it to the fame and character of the man, when, through the many disasters of a long unhappy life, he returns fraught with honesty and a good conscience; and, without any evident force, pays the widows and the orphans, whose families had suffered by him, and who had, as we may say, forgotten the ancient injury, and retained no hopes of such a free-will offering, however due in justice!

Nor must I forget to take notice of the many mourning penitents, who have the same honesty in intention, but are not blessed with the same opportunity of making reparation of wrongs, and restitution of injuries done to others; whose grief it is, that they cannot do it, and who sincerely wish for the occasion. I cannot doubt but there are many such in the world, and have always been such: nor that righteous heaven accepts the sincere resolution of such, for performance, though they have not been blessed with the means to perform it.

Yet, if I might be allowed here to speak a word to the distressed tradesman in the worst of his circumstances, that favoured of anything serious, it should be to urge him to maintain the principle entire; as the best means, at least, to hope that he shall have the occasion put into his hand, not by way of meritorious honesty, but upon this dependence, that as heaven alone can support the principle, so it may be hoped God will, one time or other,

join the means and the end, and make him able to do what he sincerely desires to do.

I know no circumstance of life gives greater testimony to a man's integrity, than this of a tradesman; a man in any other capacity seems to be entirely without so much as a view or prospect of it; for in all other disasters of life, once unhappy, is to be ever unfortunate; once branded with reproach, is to be ever wearing that mark of infamy; it is alone the tradesman's felicity, that if he recover his disasters, it is in his breast too to recover his character, to restore himself to the opinion of good men, and set himself right in their esteem.

How many gentlemen have I heard lament their unhappiness in this circumstance in particular, that would have sacrificed their lives to recover but the name of honest men, which perhaps for one early slip, leaves a 'but' in their character, like a bend in their coat of arms, to be remembered as long as their names are known.

What examples might we not give in history of this, particularly in two of the greatest men of their days! The first of the good lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who, to show his execration of that one, and, perhaps, that only one, ill action of his life, with an inimitable constancy, thrust his right arm into the fire, and held it there to the last gasp of life, crying out, Burn, unworthy right hand! being the instrument by which he recanted his religion.

The other was the truly great man, the lord Bacon, who, though otherwise generous and good, fell once into the crime of corruption, and sunk under the infamy and misery of it, and could never, by the greatest testimonies of penitence, and of a real grief for the fact, recover his character; and the weight of it broke his heart.

But the tradesman, however miserable in his fall,

however scandalous in the circumstance of it, however great the infamy, and with whatever aggravations his ruin has been, yet if once he appears with a generous honesty to discharge his old obligations, and pay off the debts contracted in his distress, he becomes the darling even of fame itself; he gains an applause infinitely superior to all the reproach he suffered; he has ample amends made him by the world, in a manner so much to his advantage, that I know no case that comes up to it.

Nay, that which seems to requite the man, and make his very memory satisfaction for all the unworthy blasts it had before cast upon his reputation, and that not only in kind, but with interest, is this; viz., that it is ever paying the debt, for it has never done with it; the man's name is never mentioned, but the remembrance of this pattern of his honesty is annexed, as if it were an appendix to his history; it is a debt due to his memory, paid with interest.

I cannot but say this is a particular encouragement to a tradesman to be honest; because, whenever he pleases to be so, all his trading miscarriages are forgotten, all his false steps are buried in that one action of integrity, and he is called an honest man; nay, the honestest of honest men, ever after; without so much as one reflection of dishonour upon the worst of his past life; he is washed clean from every spot; he is clearer than an innocent, that never offended; for he is spoken of with such an addition of honour to his character, that a simple life of honesty, though in the highest degree, seldom attains to.

To fall, is common to all mankind; to fall and rise is a particular that few men arrive to; but to fall into the very dirt of scandal and reproach, and rise with reputation; to fall with infamy, and rise with applause; to fall detested, and rise caressed

and embraced by all mankind ; this, I think, is a kind of ‘peculiar’ to the tradesman, nay, to the unhappy, unfortunate tradesman, who, by this one turn of his affairs, is lifted out of the mire into a station of life infinitely superior to the best condition he was ever in before.

It is observable, that it is not so easy to recover the ruined fortunes of a tradesman in other nations as it is in this ; which, I believe, is owing to the great flux of business, which is certainly greater in England than in any other nation in Europe, or in the whole world ; and we shall see more into that part, when the magnitude of the British commerce comes to be spoken of.

Upon the whole, the English tradesman, though unfortunate, is a kind of *phœnix*, who rises out of his own ashes, and, if he is prudent, makes the ruin of his fortunes a firm foundation to build his recovery upon ; and I know no man that sinks with greater hope, and rises again with greater advantage, than he.

This, if there was nothing else in it, should make his neighbour tradesman cautious how he uses him ill in his misfortunes, and how he triumphs over him, as if he was like a dead tree plucked up by the roots.

No doubt but the poor distressed tradesman may have been obliged to do things he would not have done ; he may have been forced to run in debt when he would not ; to take money when he could not refund it ; to touch trusts committed to him ; to promise payment, and break promises ; these things his distress has driven him to do, not his choice ; and it is a hard thing upon him to be upbraided by a rich man, who perhaps tells him, he never did thus and thus.

You never did so ! we may reply ; was you ever
K 2

tried? was you ever distressed to make payment, and did not promise without a prospect? was you ever in prison, and would not make use of another man's money intrusted with you, to fetch you out?

He is the honest man that has stood the test of the ordinary and extraordinary question in that case; and who can say he has starved rather than touch his neighbour's loaf? It is he is the knave who can pay, and will not; but for him that would pay, and cannot, he may be as honest as he that does pay because he can.

When the poor broken tradesman first fails, he bears all these reproaches, that's true; but when he rises again, and pays every man punctually again, not needing to do it, having been legally discharged, then he shines brighter than before, and obtains a more splendid character than he that never failed at all.

As then the fortunes of the rich tradesman are never known till he is dead, so the fate of the bankrupt is not concluded while he is alive; his principles are not fully shown, and therefore his actions should not be censured till his bottom is wound off, till he has done with the world, and the world with him.

What, then, can the tradesman say for insulting the reputation of an unfortunate brother? Let his own bottom be wound up first, and then he may speak with the more assurance; for a tradesman neither knows himself, or is known, till then; and it greatly reproaches his own character to have him triumph over the disasters of another; and this as well in point of true policy, as humanity and prudence.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the particular dangers to which a rich overgrown tradesman may be liable on his leaving off trade, which is another critical part of his life.

WE will now suppose that the rich tradesman is winding up his bottom, and determined to retire from business; and because it will be necessary to mention some given sum, we will suppose that he is worth, clear money, 20,000*l.* which, at 5*l.* per cent. will bring him 1000*l.* a year.

We shall need to say very little to such an one, whose judgment and experience is so well approved by such an increased fortune; but yet as this is another critical time of his life, it may not be quite impertinent to say something; and if it be not of use to him, it may be matter of pleasing amusement to those who are looking forward to that sum, and have not yet arrived to it.

In the first place, then, I will venture to assert that he who has an estate of 1000*l.* a year ought to spend 500*l.* a year, and no more; and the laying up the other 500*l.* will always secure to him and his family, humanly speaking, an improving estate, though he trades no more, but makes the common advantages only which the increase of his money or estate will point out to him. For every two years he can add 50*l.* a year in land to his estate; and if he lives twenty years in such circumstances, adding the additional income, and the advances made by it,

he leaves his estate doubled, and grown up to 2000*l.* a year.

He that has been a frugal managing man in trade, can never, with his senses about him, turn an unthinking stupid extravagant when he leaves off. It is contrary to the very nature of the thing; it is contrary to the ordinary course of his life; he must lay aside all his experience, his understanding in business and knowledge of the world; for there is something so absurd in a life of imprudent expense, that a man bred in business can never fall into it, unless he has first forfeited all his former capacities, and is no more able to make any judgment of things.

Hence I think there is the less need to talk to the tradesman upon this topic, after he has laid down and is listed among the gentry. But there is another, which, though I have touched upon in the progress of this work, and of the tradesman's fortunes, is very necessary to warn him of once more, at this critical juncture, when he begins to cool in his trading warmth, and has resolved to lay down his business; and that is, that he avoids entering into great projects and undertakings, to which he may be induced by flattering prospects and large sums in hand drawn out of business.

I could name some of the vast undertakings which deep heads have run into, which have been too great for any single hands to manage, too heavy for any single backs to bear; such was farming the revenues of Ireland, by alderman Forth, engrossing the long cloth and sallampores, by sir Thomas Cook, building whole streets, or towns rather, besides Osterly House, by Dr. Barebone; planting colonies in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Carolina, and many others; all which mortally wounded the fortunes and credit of the undertakers of them, even after they were worth

sixty, seventy, or eighty thousand pounds a man, and thought themselves out of the reach of accident.

And, to come nearer to every man's remembrance, the late times of distraction, in the year 1720; how many overgrown rich tradesmen were there who had happily retired to enjoy what they had got, and yet came in, at the unhappy summons of their avarice, into that public infatuation; and so ruined at one blow the fruits of forty years' unwearied diligence and labour?

And, indeed, what temptation but that of mere avarice can lie in the way of a man possessed but of 20,000*l.* to run into new adventures? What can he propose to himself better than what he already has? If it be to get an estate, he has one of 800*l.* or 1000*l.* a year already, and a moral certainty of increasing it greatly, without running any risk at all. Such an one, therefore, has nothing to do but to be quiet, when he is arrived at this situation in life. He was before, indeed, to amass this fortune, obliged to be diligent and active; but he has nothing now to do but to determine to be indolent and inactive. The money-wheel is set going, and it will turn round now of itself, without any of his care or pains, and bring a certain yearly augmentation into his pocket.

Yet it must be confessed this part is pretty difficult to be acted, and that makes the caution more necessary, by a man bred to business, bred to be always looking sharp out, watching advantages, and then taking hold of them, and improving every hint to his own interest; for such a man to sit still and do nothing, to see the world flow up to his very teeth, and not open his mouth to take it in, it is against the very current of his blood, he can hardly do it; nature, reason, and everything about him, at

least by their outsides, invite him to come in and be made at once, as is the tempting phrase. But a good judgment, and the event of things foreseen at a distance, will withhold him ; his reason will bid him stand fast where he is, and to know when he is well. If sordid Interest says, Come in, and be made, he prudently answers, Why, I am made already ; I don't want it. If Avarice says, Come in, and be rich, he answers, I am already rich, and can, with patience, be as much richer as I please.

Let us then resume, as briefly as may be, the main point in view ; and behold the rich tradesman left off, and having converted his money into solid rents ; he has, then, laid down the tradesman entirely, and commenced gentleman. He is sensible that in this light, quitting all thoughts of other employment, he has one established business before him, and in that he is effectually safe, has no risk to run, no dangers to apprehend, and that he may grow still richer without possibility of miscarriage ; and that is, as has been hinted, to live upon one half of his income, and lay up the other half ; such a man is, if any man can be said to be so, out of the reach of fortune or misfortune ; no casualty can reach him ; it is next to impossible he can be hurt.

Prudent management and frugal living will increase any fortune to any degree ; I knew a private gentleman, whose father set him up with 20,000*l.*, and bid him go and set up for a gentleman, for he would not let him meddle with trade. The father had gotten a great estate by merchandise, but told his son, 20,000*l.* was a very good trade, and if he managed it well, he would be rich without running the risks of a merchant.

The young gentleman took the hint, lived frugally, yet handsomely ; purchased an estate of 1500*l.*

per annum with his own stock, and his wife's fortune, which was very considerable.

In this manner he went on for some years, till his family increased ; he spent about 300*l.* per annum, then 400*l.*, and at length 500*l.* Before he came to spend 400*l.* per annum, he had raised his estate to 1800*l.* per annum, by the mere increase of its own income, always putting the money out as fast as it came in, upon the public securities, which at that time paid 7*l.* per cent. interest. At the end of fifteen years he had raised his estate to 2500*l.* a year, the subscription, or engraftment, as it was then called, to the bank, falling in at that time ; when his estate was thus large, he increased his expenses to about 800*l.* a year ; and at that time his old father died, and left him a vast addition to his fortune, of between fifty and sixty thousand pounds in money and rents ; so that when it was all put together, he had a clear estate of between five and six thousand pounds a year.

As he lived in a handsome figure before, so he did not at all enlarge his equipage on this occasion ; but his family growing numerous, and also growing up, obliged him to an expense of about one thousand to one thousand two hundred pounds per annum.

This man lived twenty-two years after his father's last lump was left him ; and going on upon the same prudential improvement as above, it was found, at his death, that he had 16,000*l.* per annum stated revenue, and almost 90,000*l.* in the Bank, Exchequer, and such other public securities, as were to be esteemed ready money ; and, upon a just calculation, it appeared that in twenty-five years more, had he lived so long, he must have been worth two millions sterling.

It is true, this was raised from a capital beginning ; but it is as true that every beginning,

where the expense is within the compass of the income, will do the same thing in proportion, and that without any risk of miscarrying.

Nor does he, in such a way, increase by art and by craft, by management of stock, or making gain of this or that particular thing ; he increases by nature, as one may say, by the mere consequence of things ; if six come in, and four go out, there must be two left behind ; nothing can break in upon the security of this man's affairs but some public calamity ; such a war as should expose us to public invasions and depredations of an enemy, who might ravage the land, and burn down the tenants' houses ; and even in such a case they could not carry away the land ; the fee simple, with after years of peace, would restore all again.

Why, then, should the tradesman look anywhere but right before him ? If he is withdrawn from trade, let him fix his staff down there, and never turn to the right hand or to the left ; he has an estate and an establishment for his life ; by that he stands, and keeping to that, he can never fall ; let him resolve to give the negative to every proposal, to every offer, however advantageous ; and till he can do that, he is never safe.

An estate, as an estate, is in no danger but from the kitchen and the stable. Nothing wounds it but the table and the equipage ; if the expense is kept under the revenue, the man will always grow and be always growing ; if not, I need not say what will follow ; causes and consequences are always steady and the same, and will ever be so to the end of time.

There are also many disasters in trade, which sometimes bear hard upon even the most capital tradesmen ; and that so hard as to hazard their ruin, even in the highest of their fortunes ; and this is

another reason why a man who would be safe, and out of the reach of hazard, should quite have done with it; and that is, the sudden rising and falling of any one particular article in trade. How have such unforeseen accidents sunk a particular tradesman four or five thousand pounds at a time! This I have known frequently happen, and that in several particular sorts of goods. This dips deep into a man's fortune, though he should be so overgrown as we have now described; the sudden surprise of fires, as such disasters are sometimes circumstanced, and especially before the late insurances of goods in warehouses were set up, have also had terrible effects upon great stocks and fortunes, that have made large drawbacks, even upon men of great wealth, where they have happened; and added another reason why a man, who would be safe, should entirely quit trade, or not at all.

Bold adventures are for men of desperate fortunes, not for those whose fortunes are made. Men furnished for great attempts must be men who have great expectations: when you mount the man upon the pinnacle of his fortunes he is past the pinnacle of his enterprising spirit; he has nothing to do then but to keep himself where he is.

He that has traded twenty or thirty years must have seen the beginning and end of many a fair outside; must have seen many a plausible proposal vanish into smoke, and end in the same emptiness where it began; for such an one therefore to dip in air and vapour, and buy the fancies of projectors and undertakers with the solid substance which he has laboured so many years for, it has something so preposterous in it, that one would think no man of ordinary experience could come into it; and yet nothing is more frequent than to see such men, who have been cunning enough for all the world before,

drop into the weakest snares, and be made dupes of at last by the meanest and most scoundrel projector.

On this account, and because of the many examples there are to be given where such men have miscarried, I think this advice is seasonable ; and no tradesman will think himself affronted, if, from the frequent examples of men ruined by such mistakes, I venture to argue, that no man is above the caution, no man so secure as not to want it.

CHAP. XLII.

That the rich tradesman, leaving off, should endeavour to quit the world of trade in peace, and go off in a calm, with the good word of the rich, and the blessings of the poor ; and, whatever he was before, be well spoken of at last.

HAVING given this necessary caution, and seen the rich tradesman determined to retire from business, let us say one thing more to him before he actually commences gentleman, and so he is out of the reach of our subject, which is principally directed to men in trade ; and that is, to exhort him to leave business with a good character.

It cannot but be to the advantage, as well as the honour, of such a man, to come off clean, to wind up his bottom well, to leave no tangled skeins, no broils upon the hands of his successors in trade, and no slurs upon his own reputation, when he has given it over ; that he may not go out of business, as some go out of the world, like the snuff of a candle, with a smoke and a stink. I would recommend it to him to pay every man handsomely,

wrangle with nobody, bring no contested accounts, no quarrels, no suits at law along with him ; but as he pretends to sit down easy, so I would advise him to make everybody easy with him.

A man that leaves his business with the reproach of a thousand little quarrels about his ears, rather hides himself from the world than sits down to enjoy it ; all the tradesman's accounts should be fairly and quietly closed, all disputes calmly ended, and all mouths amicably stopped.

It is an uncomfortable thing to be pursued from the shop to the retreat with the clamours of oppressed families, the noise of the poor, or the insults of the rich. I am to suppose, if a tradesman is leaving off, it is with the usual saying of the rich men that withdraw from the world, that he may enjoy himself ; that he may live in quiet and peace at the latter end of his days, without noise, and without hurry. And how can that be done, when the remaining disputes of twenty years' standing continue unsettled, and all the little brangles of forty years' trade hang upon and haunt him to the last ?

The tradesman's leaving his shop, is like another man's leaving the world ; he should resolve to die in charity with all men ; it is a trading death ; he dies, out of trade, as much as another dies out of the world ; he should therefore endeavour to go off in a calm.

A tradesman is not properly said to have quite left off, or be out of business, just by his shutting up his shop, or putting another into it ; unless he has evened all differences, and adjusted all his disputes with the world ; it is not enough that he has paid all his debt, as he calls it, if there are open accounts and demands, either upon him, or by him upon others ; in either of the cases, the man is still

involved, and, which is worse, embroiled with the world ; those tangled skeins are as apt to raise slurs and bring scandal upon him at parting, as anything whatever ; and the avoiding these things, as much as may be, is, at least, a part of what I call going quietly out of trade, and parting amicably with the world.

Especially I lay the stress of this upon such cases and such disputes wherein he is plaintiff, not defendant ; where perhaps he is injurious, or at least is said to be so, and rigid in his demands ; taking the utmost advantages in accounts, upon the deficiency of a debtor's books ; for all are not equally careful : here parcels of goods may be delivered to him, and yet the persons not able to make due proof ; there receipts for money may be mislaid, or not be carefully preserved, or perhaps money has been paid, and the receipts omitted, and the rich tradesman, at finishing his accounts, refuses to allow them, though perhaps he knows them just, taking advantage of the other's negligence. In all these cases, the tradesman brings an ill character upon himself ; and this he should industriously avoid ; he ought to acknowledge goods that he knows he has had delivered, money that he knows he has received ; and not put the poor tradesman upon the proof of things when he knows he has been negligent. He ought not to take mistake for a balance, and make a poor tradesman debtor to his ignorance. Such an act of open honesty, acknowledging money paid, though without a receipt, and goods delivered, though without an evidence, will do him more honour, besides the justice of it, than ever money twice received will do him good.

Also, by leaving off quietly, and going out of trade in a calm, I mean that he should do generous and kind things by the world at parting ; not ex-

acting the utmost penny with severity, where it cannot be had without distress; not doing hard things by any man, which, at another time, he would not do upon the score of further trade; and tear mankind to pieces, with this expression, What do I value this obliging him? I shall trade no more with him; I shall get no more by him, and therefore I will have my money.

By this rigid method the rich tradesman may indeed hurry in those of his debts that are current, and where the debtors are able; and though it is with difficulty to many, yet they who are any way in condition to pay, will do it. But two things will certainly follow: first, those that pay him in that manner, and especially those that do it with difficulty, will reproach him with incivility and ingratitude, after long, fair, and friendly usage, and after having gained many thousands or hundreds of pounds by them.

And those who cannot bear the hurry, though with patience and easy good usage they might have paid all, yet are overthrown, fall under the violence, sink, and are undone; and so the eager, merciless, but avaricious creditor, loses the debt he might have saved, and gains the scandal of a cruel creditor into the bargain.

As nothing is of more value to a tradesman, while in business, than his credit, so nothing can be of more value to him at his going out of business, than his reputation; to trade fairly and leave off handsomely finishes a tradesman's scene of business, and finishes it the most to his advantage, and in the best manner he can desire, and he goes off with applause. It is a part of wisdom, and of a true greatness of mind, not to value what the world says slanderously and unjustly of us; but it is

always the study of good and wise men, and is not unworthy that greatness of mind to act so as that no evil can be spoken justly, and with cause.

Every wise man studies to merit the praise of wise and good men, and to merit it by wise and good actions. To be evil-spoken of may be the lot of a good man ; but to be spoken of for evil, is only the just due of a criminal ; it is one thing to be accused, and it is another thing to be falsely accused ; as it is one thing to be charged with a crime, and another to be guilty ; the first a wise man laughs at, the last he trembles at.

As reputation and credit in business is a treasure, and esteemed so by all tradesmen, as dealers ; so to go with reputation out of business, is a treasure every man should esteem and covet as a wise man, and as a Christian.

Now no man has more advantage in this particular than a tradesman, if his character was anything tolerable before ; by leaving off well, he puts himself in a capacity of forming a complete fame, as to business ; nay, if he had but an indifferent good name before, yet if he goes off clean, he wipes out all the blots at once, if they have not, like a tincture in grain, stained too deep to be discharged.

A tradesman that has been in good business must necessarily have a large acquaintance ; his employment requires it ; at his laying down he drops his general knowledge of the world, his common and ordinary society, and reserves only a particular chosen few, whom he sets by to call friends ; forms an interest of intimacy and friendship with them, and preserves it after the rest are all dropped and forgotten.

But he does not commence a breach with the rest, neither ought the singling out a few particular friends for his confidants and company, to disoblige

anybody ; for no man can be affronted that he is not made a friend because he was a customer, or claim that he should be a particular friend afterwards because he was a general acquaintance before ; but yet every wealthy tradesman, who is a man of sense, will strive, at his laying down his business, to do it with the smiles of his friends, and the good word of his enemies ; with the blessings of the poor, and the favour of the rich.

With what advantage does an honest tradesman leave the world, when he shows himself easy with his debtors, giving time to some, and even acquitting others, where pity calls for it. As a good Christian dies in charity with all the world, so he goes off the stage of trade with a general kindness in his breast to all mankind ; he gives every one good usage, and receives the like ; the poor pray for him, the rich are fond of him, and all men speak well of him.

If a man has been a fair trader all his life, if he has acted justly and honourably in the world, if he has been a generous open-hearted neighbour, a fair dealer, quiet in his disposition, a man of prudent management, he finds it as easy to preserve the good will of mankind at last as he did to gain it at first ; but if he has been a sharping, cunning, over-reaching dealer ; if he has been a cruel biter and devourer of the poor that laboured under him, obliging them to make brick without straw, shortening their wages and increasing their work ; making them first beg for work and then beg for their pay ; taking advantage of the poverty of the seller to buy under the true worth of the goods ; and, in a word, oppressing not the tradesman only, but the trade itself ; he meets with the reward of it at last, and goes out of the trade with as ill a name as he lived in it ; he entails even upon his memory, as a tradesman, the curses of the poor, the reproaches of the

rich, the ill word of everybody, and has the good word of nobody.

It is true, the world may sometimes run against a man's character in a strong current of general dislike, without a due cause; and common fame does not always do a man justice; but this is very rare, and happens rather in other things than in trade; as in public affairs, in politics, in religion, and opinion; and it is particular to such cases, because those things generally run by parties and factions, by schisms and divisions in principles, and the like.

But in trade it is very seldom thus; the world is generally more just in this part of life, than in any other cases. If a tradesman is just and fair in his dealings, if he is compassionate and kind to the poor, if he performs his agreements punctually, and pays his poor workmen cheerfully and generously, he carries the fame of it after him, and retires with the good will and the good word of all the world. Nay, which is something unusual in most other cases in the world, they are as extravagant in their applause, as they are, on the other side, of their clamour; and will set him as high above his merit as they will run another down below it.

As, then, this is the way of the world, and that people do and will act thus by one another in all such cases, it is in the tradesman's view, and consequently in his choice, upon what terms to stand with mankind at parting; and though it is true, a wise man will not overrate the popular opinion, whether for him or against him, yet I cannot but think every man would rather go off the stage with the good will of his neighbours than with a general odium.

And I cannot but recommend it to every tradesman to do so, for this reason; because the merit of the first is ordinarily founded upon a just and hu-

mane course of life, doing things commendable and praiseworthy in themselves, and which a wise man ought to practise, whether they were rewarded with due acknowledgments from the world or no. On the other hand, the merit of the second is generally founded upon justice too ; that is to say, the man, by a long series of unfair dealing, or of unkind and cruel usage, and other the ordinary vices of a griping, overreaching tradesman, justly brings those things upon himself ; and he may so far be properly said to suffer as an evil-doer ; that is to say, to suffer justly, which no wise man can desire to do.

This is the reason why I lay so much weight upon that point, and argue so much for the tradesman's laying down his business upon good terms with the world. I am as much for despising slander and reproach, as any man, and as any man ought to be. I think it a *brutum fulmen* in its own nature ; it is a thunder without a bolt, a cannon fired without a ball, rage without a weapon, a snake without a sting, and a good man has nothing to fear from it.

But then we must add this ; that he who can hold up his face to the world, in the teeth of a general clamour, and yet be at the same time guilty, and know in his conscience that he merits their reproach, and that they have reason for what they say, is arrived to a degree of the utmost degeneracy, and must have some assistance from one whose name I need not mention.

CHAP. XLIII.

Of the tradesman's being purseproud ; the folly and the scandal of it ; and how justly ridiculous it renders him in the world ; on the contrary, how estimable and useful a modest and peace-making tradesman, who has left off business, is to the whole neighbourhood where he fixes.

As I have cautioned the tradesman against being secure in his prosperity, so I cannot quit him without saying a word to him about his particular personal conduct in his prosperity ; and that is, to avoid what a wise man will be sure to avoid, a noisy, surfeiting, troublesome bluster of his wealth, and of his great wisdom and good judgment in gaining it ; this we call, and justly too, being purseproud ; and it is the most hateful unsociable thing belonging to a tradesman ; and yet it is what is very frequently seen.

If the tradesman is risen from nothing, to be even an alderman, it might suffice him that the very station of life he fills up in the place where he lives, declares it ; his fur gown and gold chain, the ancient gewgaws of corporation pageantry, and the grave magisterial supporters of a tradesman's pride, might be sufficient to tell the world he is rich, without his never-ceasing tongue being always trumpeting out his own praises and his own wealth.

Or if I was to talk seriously to him, I would say, He should satisfy himself with being secretly thankful to Heaven for blessing his diligence ; and not be

always boasting to men, as if his diligence was the merit, and that Heaven was only just to him in giving him the due reward of it.

I must confess, I think a purseproud tradesman one of the most troublesome and intolerable of all men ; and this as well before he has left off trade as afterwards.

Before he has left off, he is so to his neighbours and fellow-tradesmen ; after he has left off, he is the like among gentlemen ; he insults every one of them in their turn, poor as well as rich ; he lessens the latter, and perfectly tramples upon the former.

Such a man is generally a poor, empty, bloated-up animal, who at first begins from nothing, or something very mean ; and having been lifted up beyond what he was, continues always lifted up beyond what he is ; he is so, and will be so, because, though his stock of money may increase, yet his stock of pride increases still faster than his wealth ; and though he made a contemptible figure among his brethren in trade, by reason of his pride and vanity, he must make a ten times worse when he leaves off business, and forces himself, under the sanction of his wealth, into the company of gentlemen. There is something so scandalous and ridiculous in the character of such a person, that I have not patience to bestow any more time about it, but choose to show its odiousness by way of contrast, in the amiable character of a tradesman of understanding and modesty, who has retired from business, and becomes a blessing to every society he visits, and to the neighbourhood in which he fixes, and is alike respected by all classes of men.

Such a man as this, as he rose by steps of wisdom and prudence, so he will stand upon the same bottom, and go on to act by the same rules, and not

run into the vices of trade, when he has thriven by the virtues of it.

As he got an estate by honesty, so he will enjoy it with modesty ; he is convinced, that to boast of his own wisdom in the amassing his money, and insult the senses and understanding of every man that has miscarried, is not only a token of immodesty, but the infallible mark of irreligion ; as it is sacrificing to his own net and to his own drag, to his own head and to his own hands.

A wise, sober, modest tradesman, when he is thriven and grown rich, is really a valuable man ; and he is valued on all occasions ; as he went on with everybody's good wishes, when he was getting it, so he has everybody's blessing and good word when he has got it.

If he retains the character when he has retired from business, which he deserved and gained when he was in business, he is a public good in the place where he lives ; as he was useful to himself before, he is useful to everybody else after. Such a man has more opportunity of doing good than almost any other person I can name ; he is useful a thousand ways, and many of them are such, by his experience and knowledge of business, as men of ten times his learning and education, in other things, cannot know.

He is, in the first place, a kind of a natural magistrate in the town where he lives ; and all the little causes, which in matters of trade are innumerable, and which often, for want of such a judge, go on to suits at law, and so ruin the people concerned in them by the expense, the delay, the wounds in substance, and the wounds in reputation, which they often bring with them ; I say all these causes are brought before him ; and he not only hears and determines them, but in many of them his deter-

mination shall be as effectual among the contending tradesmen, and his vote as decisive, as that of any lord chancellor whatever.

He is the general peacemaker of the country, the common arbitrator of all trading differences, family breaches, and private injuries ; and, in general, he is the domestic judge, in trade especially ; and by this he gains a general respect, an universal kind of reverence, in all the families about him, and he has the blessings and prayers of poor and rich.

Again ; he is the trade-counsellor of the country where he lives. It must be confessed, in matters of commerce, lawyers make but very poor work, when they come to be consulted about the little disputes which continually happen among tradesmen ; and are so far from setting things to rights, that they generally, by their ignorance in the usage and customs of trade, make breaches wider rather than close them, and leave things worse than they find them.

But the old, approved, experienced tradesman, who has the reputation of an honest man, and has left off business, and gone out of trade, with a good reputation for judgment, integrity, and modesty, is the oracle for trade ; every one goes to him for advice, refers to his opinion, and consults with him in difficult and intricate cases. In short, he may be said to be the trade-chancellor of the place ; differences are adjusted, enemies reconciled, equitable questions resolved by him : he is not the arbiter, but the umpire : he is the last resort ; even when arbitrators cannot make it up, he is chosen to arbitrate between the arbitrators ; and not only adjusts differences before they come to a height, and so prevents the people going to law, saving them from the expense of their money, and the wasting extravagances of violent, and perhaps malicious prosecu-

tions, but makes men friends, when they are, as it were, just beginning to be enemies ; and before the breaches are come to a head, he stops the irruption ; acts the part of a moderator, calms the passions of the furious, checks the spirits of the contentious ; and, finding out the healing medium which satisfies both sides, brings them to yield to one another, and so does justice to both.

Thus he is, in a word, a kind of a common peacemaker, and is the father of the trading world in the orb or circle wherein he moves ; his presence has a kind of peacemaking aspect in it, and he is more necessary than a magistrate, whether he is in office or not.

Of such benefit to society is an experienced modest tradesman, who has retired from the hurry of the world, and delights to do good to his neighbours all around him : and I leave it to my readers to draw a conclusion from the two characters here represented, which is the most eligible.

CHAP. XLIV.

The various changes of trade, or commerce, from what it was in former times: that the tradesmen also are changed from what they were formerly: that although a great part of the national stock, which used to be all employed in trade, is now diverted by the public funds and stocks; yet the trade of England is a prodigious thing: but that these variations make a new state of commerce, and new instructions to trading manufacturers, necessary.

HAVING thus with a gentle hand, as it were, conducted the English tradesman through the several progressions of his business, from his first setting out in the world, till his retiring from it, and commencing a gentleman; it will now be very proper to give a brief view of that vast ocean of business, the British commerce, which gives employment and wealth to the active and numerous set of people we have been treating of, and is at the same time the foundation of the riches and grandeur of this noble kingdom; a kingdom which has so long been the envy and admiration of all its neighbours, and which we pray God may continue to be so to the end of time.

Trade may be truly called an ocean; and those that sail in it, however experienced, have always need of directions: the various changes and turns that it takes in the nature and consequence of things, and by the length of time, are such, that the most ex-

perienced tradesman may stand in need of new instructions and hints, and make daily discoveries of things, which he knew nothing of before.

How frequent is it to hear an old tradesman say, Trade is quite altered since I knew it ; the methods are changed ; the course of things is changed, the manner both of buying and selling is altered; the manufactures are changed, the very places where they are made are changed, the manufacturers remove from town to town, and the places know them no more; the markets remove where they are sold, and even the demands of them both abroad and at home ; the very nations, to which particular goods were exported in former times, take none of them now ; and nations which formerly made no use of them, are now the particular staple or market for them ! As habits, and the form of clothing, are changed by the fancies and fashions of men, so trade is necessarily bound to follow the customs which the same fashions and fancies introduce. The manufactures, indeed, are in kind the same, because the principles of all manufactures are the same : wool, flax, silk, and hair, are the four grand principles and foundations of manufacture, as drugs and plants are the *materia medica*, the principles of physic and pharmacy.

But though the principles are the same, the management of the materials differs continually ; invention forms the modes of wearing, and art follows as invention leads : the manufacturing is the effect of art, the materials are the work of nature ; the first are variable, but the last is the same.

The various changes which trade has suffered, may be attributed to the several turns given to the manufactures by the invention of men ; the violent removings of the manufactures, and the markets of them, from one city to another, and from one nation to another, by wars ; the convulsions of nations, the

fall of old empires and states, and the rise of new ones upon their ruins.

In proportion to these, though not equal in degree, we see daily changes in the nature of our own particular commerce, in the kinds of our manufacture among ourselves, in their sorts, their value, the places of their making, and of their vending ; and this makes room for new observations and instructions to the tradesman. He that was expert in business forty years ago, were he to take up trade again, at the end of half the time, would have need to serve a new apprenticeship, and learn new skill and judgment in the goods he formerly dealt in ; and, in a word, would want just to begin where he began before.

And yet the materials are still the same ; but the silks of Persia are transported to Italy, to France, and to Spitalfields ; the raw silk is removed, I mean the very growth of it, from the banks of the Caspian, to the banks of the Mediterranean sea ; and from the shores of Georgia to those of Italy : and the manufactures of Asia are infinitely outdone in Europe.

The fine linen of Egypt is removed to Holland and Flanders ; and the dying of purple and scarlet, for which the Phœnicians were so famed, is lost to that part of the world, and set up in England and Holland.

So we likewise find several branches in England, some of them removed ; the kinds of them altered, the demand for them changed, and that within our own memory, as shall be at large showed in its place.

This variety gives, as I have said, a new face to things ; and the manufacturer has daily new rules to learn, new customs to set up, and new measures

to take, such as his forefathers never knew ; and so it will be to the end of time.

It is become a policy in trade, to alter fashions and customs ; not only in clothes, which is a part that was always variable in these parts of the world, but in the more durable kind of things, such as furniture of houses, equipages, coaches, nay, even of houses themselves ; and houses built thirty or forty years ago, are now old-fashioned, and must be pulled down, to build more modish apartments ; and we see more new houses at this time in England, built within twenty to forty years, than were built in England in two hundred years before.

This must needs give a new turn to the trade ; and that of course gives new methods and new measures to the manufacturers ; obliges them to a continual study of novelty, and to rack their invention for new fashions ; introduces new customs, and even gives a turn to trade itself.

Upon this foundation, it becomes necessary to an English tradesman to give him a state of the English trade, an account of its present, not its past situation ; and to let him see, not what it has been, but what it is ; not what a tradesman was to do forty years ago, but what he is to do now, in order to carry on his business prosperously and successfully.

Nor has the state and nature of trade only suffered a change ; but the tradesmen themselves are fallen into more extravagances, and make new kinds of excursions out of their business, run new hazards and dangers, and are ruined by new and different ways than they did, or indeed than they could be formerly.

In the good old days of trade, in which our forefathers plodded on, and got estates too, there were

no bubbles, no stock jobbing, no South-sea infatuations, no lotteries, no funds, no annuities, no buying of navy bills, and public securities, no circulating exchequer bills: in a word, trade was a vast great river, and all the money in the kingdom ran down its mighty stream; the whole wealth of the nation kept within its channel, and there were no new canals or side-drains laid open to abate its waters, to divert its current, and to carry its stream off from the ordinary course.

Whereas now near half the stock of the nation is diverted from the channel of trade to run waste, as I may say; and, like a river without banks, to drown the flat country, and spoil the industry of the husbandman.

In a word, trade is now limited and straitened in abundance of articles, by the diverting so vast a stock of ready money from it, as our stocks, and banks, and funds, carry out of that ordinary course; and by several other things which are accidents particular to these times, and which tradesmen were never acquainted with before: and yet it must be observed at the same time, that the trade and commerce of the nation is a most prodigious thing, notwithstanding these diversions from it; which is owing to the increase of manufacturing people, by means of the persecutions of our neighbours on the score of religion; and to other causes, which we propose not to inquire into in this place.

But be this as it will, it is certain that this makes a new state of commerce, and new instructions to new manufacturers, for carrying on their trades, and for the management of themselves, after the new methods of trade, very suitable to these times, and highly useful to our trading manufacturers; and this is the further design of this work.

Previous to this undertaking, and preliminary to

this part of it, it is necessary to mention, that I am still confining myself in this work, to our English trade ; that is to say, the home trade and home traders, including a little of our shipping and sailing, so far only as it relates to our inland river navigation and the coasting trade, which belongs to, and is wholly carried on within ourselves ; not at all concerning myself with the merchandising part of our trade, how great soever it is, and however well worth considering ; for that is a subject too mighty for this work, and well deserves to be spoken of in a discourse by itself.

CHAP. XLV.

That England may be justly called the centre of the commerce of Europe. That it exports more of its own produce, and imports more of the produce of foreign countries than any other nation. A brief view of its importations only. A compendious account of the fund of our home trade.

It is no vain boast, nor any unjust partiality to ourselves to say, that England is at this time not only a nation of the greatest trade in the world, but that it is the centre of the whole commerce of Europe, if not of the whole trading world. I prove it by these two heads :—

I. It exports more value of its own produce, and of the labour of its own people, than any other nation.

II. It consumes more of the growth and produce, labour and manufacture, of foreign countries, than any other nation.

The first shows the value and excellence of its produce, and of its manufactures ; and the demand for them in other countries.

And the second proves the dependence foreign nations have upon the English trade, for the consumption of their goods.

And, to bring it to the point in hand, both these show the greatness and prodigious extent of our home trade, which, without partiality, is certainly beyond any other nation in Europe ; and, including Scotland and Ireland, which yet are not considerable in proportion to the rest, greater than all the rest of the inland commerce of Europe put together. As to our plantations or colonies, they are naturally to be included, their people being our own, and their consumption always to be reckoned as part of our own, their produce our produce, and their wealth our wealth.

It may be worth while to take a short view here of our importation of goods of foreign growth from abroad, which are chiefly made use of, and consumed at home. For, as for such as are exported again to other countries, I shall take but little notice of them in this place.

1. The wines and brandy imported from France and Spain, when our trade was open with France, was so great, that it is hardly credible. According to an account given in from the custom-house, they amounted as follows :—

Wine, 22,372 tuns.

Brandy, 11,291 tuns.

That trade being since checked by prohibitions and high duties, the brandy is indeed brought in by smuggling and clandestine trade, so that no esti-

mate can be made of it; and the channel of the wine trade being turned, we imported in the year 1721, into the port of London only, as follows:—

Portugal wine,	20,938 pipes.
Spanish wine,	14,147 pipes.
French wine,	999 tuns.
Rhenish wine,	358½ tuns.

All these wines are consumed at home, besides the several quantities imported in the outports of England and Ireland, and in Scotland; which, though uncertain, yet, by an ordinary computation, may be estimated at one-third of the quantity imported at London.

The importation of wine in Ireland, including French, and inclusive of the wines run on shore there, and at the Isle of Man, are indeed too low in this calculation by a great deal.

The importation of brandy has been nine thousand tuns a year; suppose it now at one-half; so that, by estimation, the British dominions import yearly from France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, above forty thousand tuns of wine and brandy, besides Madeira wine yearly carried to our West India colonies, which, one year with another, amounts to above a thousand pipes a year.

2. The silk in bales, raw and thrown silk, including the East Indies and China, amounts to an incredible quantity, all which is manufactured at home, except a very small quantity sent to Ireland.

1000 bales and chests from India and China, raw silk.

2000 bales from Turkey.

2000 bales from Italy and Sicily.

The value of this, at but 100*l.* per bale, one with another, is 500,000*l.* per annum.

3. Add to this, that the fruit, properly called so, viz., raisins, figs, almonds, oranges, lemons, currants, raisins of the sun, particularly so called, from Alicant, Denia, and Xevia.

Other raisins from Malaga, almonds from Barbary.

Oranges and lemons from Seville, and Lisbon, and Malaga.

Oil from Seville and Lisbon, Cadiz and Oporto.

Other oil from Gallipoli, as also from Genoa and Leghorn.

Figs from Faro and Figuera.

Currants from Zante and Cephalonia.

Almost the whole quantity of these are imported except some oranges and lemons to Holland; France here, the Dutch or French take very few of them, has them of her own.

4. The importation of linen from—

Hamburgh,	Holland,
Bremen,	Flanders,
Russia,	Stetin,
Dantzic,	Konigsberg.

The quantity of linen imported yearly into England is so prodigious great, besides our own linen, now greatly increased from Ireland and Scotland, that no estimate can be made of it. The least that I have heard it valued at, has been a million sterling per annum; and I have a great deal of reason to believe that it is very much less than the quantity amounts to.

5. Besides the importation of linen yarn, which is manufactured here, and which is now every day increasing.

6. Add to this the great consumption of other petty imports from Holland, called haberdashery-

ware ; such as thread and inkle, gimps, bonelace, and other goods of that kind, the quantity of which is exceeding great. As also,

7. Dye stuffs, such as woad and madder, sumach, orchal, &c.

8. Also the great importation of cotton, as well cotton wool as cotton yarn, from Turkey, chiefly from Smyrna and Scanderoon, with goats' hair, camels' hair, grogram yarn, &c., all for manufacturing in England.

9. Spices of the Indies, by way of Holland, cloves, nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, all consumed among ourselves.

10. Spanish wool, an article of great value, and principally brought hither.

11. Iron from Sweden, and some from Biscay in Spain.

12. Naval stores from the Baltic ; viz., tar, pitch, resin, hemp, and flax, generally called naval stores.

13. Deals, timber, and masts, from Norway.

14. Sulphur (brimstone) and block marble, from Naples, Genoa, Leghorn.

15. Pickles, viz., anchovies, capers, olives, &c., from ditto.

16. Paper from Holland and Genoa, very great quantities.

17. Drugs of many sorts from Turkey, Barbary, Spain, and the Indies.

18. Cochineal, indigo, cocoa, and dying woods, from New Spain and Brazil, by way of Cadiz and Lisbon.

19. Gold and silver from Guinea and America.

20. Saltpetre, calicoes, coffee, tea, red earth, chinaware, diamonds, pearl, and several other goods, which I do not mention, because they are exported again ; such as wrought silks of China and Bengal, plain and printed calicoes, all prohi-

bited here, except the plain. Let the quantities of these goods which are imported here, and which are consumed at home, be duly considered, and let them be compared with the small quantities of the like goods, or of any other which any of our neighbouring nations import, and it will easily be decided whether England may not justly be called the centre of the commerce of Europe.

It is true that the Hollanders exceed us in some articles of trade, which they import in greater quantities than England; as particularly,—

1. In the quantity of iron from Sweden.
2. Naval stores from the Baltic.
3. Oil and whale fins from Greenland.
4. Spices, and silks, and calicoes, from the East Indies.
5. Herrings from the coast of Scotland.
6. Wine and brandy from France.

I believe I do them justice in saying, that except these six articles, they do not come up to us in the quantity of any one importation whatsoever; and none of these five articles are imported for their own consumption, but are exported again by them to all the other parts of Europe, where they are able to dispose of them.

Two articles more, indeed, they import in vast quantities, to their great loss and expense; which, however, blessed be God, we do not want; but spare a great deal annually to them for their money: these are corn and salt.

The first they fetch from Dantzic, and from Great Britain.

The last, from Setubal, or St. Ube's, near Lisbon, in the king of Portugal's dominions. But all the other goods they import as merchants, and export them again, being, as it may be said, only the carriers and brokers for the rest of the world.

But all the importations I have mentioned above, and abundance more, which are consumed at home, are mingled with our own produce and manufacture, and join together to make up the one immense article of which I am speaking, called home trade.

Not only these, but more of other kinds, too many to enumerate, and some equally considerable, from other parts, supply our tradesmen's shops; besides all the product of our colonies and plantations, which are an import equal to the Spaniards' return of plate from Mexico and Peru; and which I did not mention among the rest, because,—

1. They are the growth and produce of our own colonies, and so are to be reckoned as our own growth and produce, as I have hinted before. And,—

2. Because great quantities of those goods are exported again to other countries, to the singular increase of the wealth and commerce of this nation.

But as far as they are consumed at home, they mingle, I say, with our own growth and manufactures, help to store the warehouses and cellars of our shopkeepers, and add to the immense greatness of our inland trade, and so still they come home to our purpose.

The particulars of this article of our plantation goods, are,—

Sugars,	Train oil,
Molasses,	Whale fin,
Ginger,	Peltrey, or furs,
Tobacco,	Masts,
Indigo,	Pitch,
Pimento,	Resin,
Cotton,	Logwood,
Cocoa,	Fustick,
Drugs,	Walnut-tree,

Rice,	Plank,
Tar,	Cedar,
Turpentine,	with others.

Other foreign goods, not mentioned before, because the quantity is not large, are such as elephants' teeth, from Africa.

Tamarinds, or Guinea grains, civet and civet cats, from ditto.

Soap from Spain.

Prunes from France.

Galls from Turkey.

Amber, hartshorn, sturgeon, potashes, oaken-plank, canvass, from Dantzic and Konigsberg.

Russia leather, and linseed, from Petersburg and Riga.

Copper, in coined plates, and iron, from Sweden.

Battery and plate brass, called blacklatten, from Holland.

Tin plates, single and double, called white iron, from Saxony, by way of Hamburg.

Clapboard and pipe, and barrel staves, wainscots, and kid skins, and drugs, from Hamburg and Bremen.

Mum, and hams of bacon, iron chests, and kid skins, from ditto.

All these, and an innumerable sort of nameless particulars more, are not only imported, but are imported for our own consumption, and consequently increase our manufactures, and our home trade.

Nor are all these goods so immediately made use of at home, as only to be presently retailed out to the consumer; in which case they would not be of much real benefit to the public stock, and be only a drain of our money, assisting the foreign commerce, and causing the balance of trade to run against us: but many of these importations run through several

particular operations of art, before they come to use ; and others are manufactured here ; and, by employing our poor in great multitudes, before they are fitted for use, are many ways subservient to our home trade. For example :—

1. The raw silks are dyed, spun, thrown, and then woven into broad and narrow silks, ribands, &c., and so lose their species, become an English manufacture, and are now a great one too.
2. Cotton, cotton yarn, hair, grograms, &c., all used and manufactured here at home ; and in several sorts of goods, chiefly cottons, fustians, dimities, and Manchester wares ; losing their species, and becoming English manufactures, as the silk.
3. Kid skins are all manufactured ; and, losing the very name of their kind, are sold in gloves, and that only.
4. Elephants' teeth, chiefly made into combs and toys, become a manufacture of ivory.
5. Tin plates are manufactured by the tinmen, into all sorts of kitchen utensils, lanterns, watering-pots for gardens, canisters for tea, funnels for chimneys, speaking trumpets, and the like.
6. Blacklatten is manufactured into all kinds of fine brass work ; but especially clockwork, movements for watches, wheels, &c.
7. Clapboard, wainscots, and staves, manufactured into cabinet-work, wainscoting, and cooperage for making of casks.
8. Hemp, manufactured by the ropemakers into all kind of cordage, cables, and rigging for ships.
9. Swedish iron and copper manufactured into innumerable cutlery, and foundry, and armoury wares, too many to dwell upon.
10. Sugars, very great quantities, which they call muscavados, or unpurged sugars, are sold to the

sugar bakers, or refiners, where they pass an apparent operation, called, though falsely, sugar baking ; for it should be called sugar boiling, and are then sold to the grocers throughout England.

11. Beaver hair, manufactured into hats.
12. Spanish wool, mingled with our own, and wrought into fine broadcloths and druggets, called, therefore, Spanish cloths, and Spanish druggets.
13. All the dye stuffs used in their proper places, for the dying all sorts of goods, which pass that operation, to fit them for the trade.
14. Oil, generally used in our woollen manufactures ; and, if not, then made up into soap.
15. Sulphur and saltpetre, manufactured again in the dangerous trade of making gunpowder.

Thus the vast import of our trade is not properly for the immediate propagation of luxury, and the expense of eating and drinking, though much goes that way too ; but it is again employed by many thousands of hands, and gains to those hands a comfortable subsistence, to the propagating our manufacture, employing our poor, and furnishing the shops and warehouses of the retailer with goods, to the great increase of our home trade.

This is a copious subject indeed ; nor is it easy to give a description of it in the narrow compass to which I am prescribed ; it would rather call for a large volume in folio.

Though we have described the trading manufacturer to be only one that is concerned in the home trade ; that is to say, in buying and selling among ourselves, exclusive of all that part which we call foreign correspondence ; yet the home trade is not confined to the goods only made at home, or to the goods only consumed at home. But the trading manufacturer I am speaking of, is employed in buying and selling

as well the manufactures made at home, and the growth of the country at home, which are exported into foreign countries, and are bought by the merchants for that purpose; as also in buying and selling the goods which are the growth and manufacture of foreign countries, and are imported here by the merchants, but are consumed, or made use of, at home, though it be for the fitting other goods for exportation.

Also many of the goods imported from abroad, and which are of the growth and produce of the country from whence they come, or the manufacture of the people of those countries, are bought by our tradesmen of those merchants which imported them, and sold again, net as they come, to other merchants, who export them again to other countries; so that though they are exported again, yet passing thus through the hands of some of our trading manufacturers, they become, on that account, a branch of our home commerce, and are a part of the general circulation of trade mentioned before. For example :—

Dye stuffs and drugs of several sorts, as I mentioned in the case of carriage, are foreign goods; and are bought of the merchants by the dry-salter, who is an English trading shopkeeper; and these are sold again by the said salter to other merchants, to be exported again; and so far as they pass through the hands of the said salter, they become an article of our home trade for the time only; such are our saltpetre, indigo, sumach, galls, logwood, fustick, brasileto, &c.; these lose also their appearance, suffering the operation of grinding in a mill, which sometimes causes them to be bought and sold several times before they come to be exported.

Calicoes, India silks, cotton, wool, coffee, tea,

pepper, and, in general, almost all the sorts of goods imported from the East Indies, are thus bought and sold; first from the company, and secondly to the merchants, for the said exportation; and so they become an article of our home trade in the same manner: and so of the rest.

But with this short exception for the buying and shipping off foreign goods; which, in the language of the custom-house, is called exporting by certificate; they have also another, viz., that they only pass through a few hands. The rest of our trade, which may properly, and in a more limited, restrained sense, be called our home trade, consists in buying and selling such goods of any kind, and of all kinds whatsoever, as are consumed at home; whether manufactured here or no, and whether of our own growth or no; as well what is imported for our own use abroad, as what is exported for other countries of the growth or manufacture of our country and people at home. This I take to be a short, and yet full account, of the fund at least of our home trade, and of what our English tradesmen are employed in and about.

CHAP. XLVI.

A compendious account of that prodigy of business the land and sea carriage of Great Britain. The process of the coal trade from the mine to the last consumer. Of the carriage of tobacco, of cheese, of butter, and more especially of corn. A brief view of the prodigious trade of corn, under the management of cornfactors, mealmen, malsters, and carriers.

HAVING thus given a brief account of the various manners how goods of so many sorts and kinds are brought together; the several markets where they are sold; the manner in which they pass from hand to hand, and from place to place, which I call the circulation of trade, and the prodigious numbers of people employed in that circulation, and which are all separate articles that serve to add to the great mass of business called the English home trade, I ought now to mention another prodigy of business, which, though it is neither buying nor selling, making nor manufacturing, planting nor reaping, yet is to be reckoned a part of trade; and the people principally managing it are justly also called tradesmen; I mean the article of carriage by land and by sea.

By this great article of carriage I am to be understood to mean carriage for trade; in the capital articles of river and coast navigation, whether of corn or any other goods, and the carriage of shopkeepers' goods, manufactures, and materials for manufacturers, which are carried by stated and

usual carriers for hire; and for the particular assistance of trade, either by cart, wagon, or horse-packs, &c.

If just calculations were made of the immense sums of money paid yearly in England upon this one occasion, the numbers of people, of cattle, and of ships, which it constantly employs, though no calculation could be made from it of the value of the goods carried, especially by land carriage; yet it might form some ideas in the mind of the reader how prodigious a thing the commerce itself is, and of what importance the people are who carry it on.

It is certain that the carriage of some heavy goods, and in their often removes from place to place, as well as from hand to hand, before they come to the last consumer, amounts several times over the value of the first cost; and several examples might be given of this, as particularly that of coals, salt, fish, tobacco, chalk, potter's and pipe-clay, and the like goods, which are bulky or heavy, and are brought either by sea or by land carriage a great way; particularly,—

The coals, in several parts of England, where they are carried twenty or thirty miles, and more, by wagons and horse carriage, are bought for two or four shillings per chaldron at the pit, and are worth from five to ten times that sum at the consumers, merely by the expense of carriage, and this without paying any tax at all; for it must be observed, that the tax upon coals is only placed upon such coals as are carried by sea; the river carried coals paying no part of it, though in some places carried over large arms or bays of the sea; thus in the case of the coals brought from the west part of Yorkshire, from Wakefield down the river Calder; these are carried by water to Selby, and then they enter the open sea, or arm of the sea, which we call

the Humber; the Air and Calder, though joined, losing their names. Thus they pass the said Humber where it is several miles broad, and then enter the Ouse, and go up by the tide to the city of York, and yet pay no duty; these coals are bought at the pit for at most one penny to one penny halfpenny per bushel; and yet at York, though carried all the way by water, they are sold for sevenpence to eightpence per bushel at cheapest, and much more sometimes.

The Newcastle coals, brought by sea to London, are bought at the pit, or at the steath or wharf, for under five shillings per chaldron; I suppose I speak with the most; but when they come to London, are not delivered to the consumers under from twenty-five to thirty shillings per chaldron; and when they are a third time loaded on board the lighters in the Thames, and carried through bridge, then loaded a fourth time into the great west country barges, and carried up the river, perhaps to Oxford or Abingdon, and thence loaded a fifth time in carts or wagons, and carried perhaps ten, or fifteen, or twenty miles to the last consumer; by this time they are sometimes sold from forty-five to fifty shillings per chaldron; so that the five shillings first cost, including five shillings tax, is increased to five times the prime cost. And because I have mentioned the frequent loading and unloading the coals, it is necessary to explain it here once for all, because it may give a light into the nature of this river and coast commerce, not in this thing only, but in many others; these loadings are thus:—

1. They are dug in the pit a vast depth in the ground, sometimes fifty, sixty, to a hundred fathoms; and being loaded (for so the miners call it) into a great basket or tub, are drawn up by a

wheel and horse, or horses, to the top of the shaft, or pit mouth, and there thrown out upon the great heap, to lie ready against the ships come into the port to demand them.

2. They are then loaded again into a great machine called a wagon; which by the means of an artificial road, called a wagon-way, goes with the help of but one horse, and carries two chaldron, or more, at a time, and this, sometimes, three or four miles to the nearest river or water carriage they come at; and there they are either thrown into, or from, a great storehouse, called a steath, made so artificially, with one part close to or hanging over the water, that the lighters or keels can come close to, or under it, and the coals be at once shot out of the wagon into the said lighters, which carry them to the ships, which I call the first loading upon the water.

From the lighters they are thrown by hand into the ships, which is the second loading.

From the ships being brought to London, they are delivered by the coal meters into coal lighters, or vessels, in the river, which is the third loading.

From those lighters into the great west-country barges, suppose for Oxford, or Abingdon, which is the fourth loading.

From those barges they are loaded into carts and wagons, to be carried to the respective country towns to the last consumer, which is the fifth loading.

But if you include the account of their digging and loading into the wagons, this makes seven several removes, all which adds to the expenses, and heightens the price of coals to such a degree as is mentioned above.

It is the like in several other goods, too many to repeat, such as salt, lead, stone, &c. As the workmanship adds to the value of manufactures, so the carriage to that of heavy goods; thus the tobacco from Virginia is bought there at one penny per pound; and yet by the freight, the lading first by sloops there, then unlading by lighters here, and carts after, to what a rate does it raise the goods, not to mention the duties to the crown.

But from these bulky, heavy articles, let us come to that which is more particularly a branch of the great commerce I am speaking of; namely, the carriage of tradesmen's goods from place to place for sale.

This article would seem very incredible, were it not to be demonstrated: the number of carriers by wagon and by packhorses, who are constantly going and coming between this great city of London and almost all the towns of note in England, from beyond Exeter one hundred and sixty miles south-west; to Edinburgh three hundred to three hundred and forty miles north; and from West Chester one hundred and fifty miles north-west; to Norwich and Yarmouth one hundred miles east.

The number of vessels, horses, and people, employed in this carriage, is incredible; and the money annually paid for this carriage is so also. Let some few articles explain it in general.

It is computed by authors of good credit, that the county of Warwick sends up to London yearly, and to Stourbridge fair, 19,000 tons of cheese.

The county of Cheshire, and its adjacent lands, near 30,000 tons of cheese, to London and other places.

The counties of Suffolk, including Cambridgeshire, and a small quantity from York, 50,000 firkins of butter; each firkin weighs fifty-six pounds.

The quantity of corn consumed in the city of London, and parts adjacent, is so great, and the way of its being brought thither so different, as shall be shown in its place, that no calculation can be made of it, so I shall not attempt it. It is our great felicity in England, that how great and grievous soever the taxes have been, we are not yet come to a *gabelle*, or tax upon corn, as is the case of Italy, and many other countries; and we hope we shall never be able, by such a tax, to calculate the quantity of corn brought to this great market, and to all the rest of the great corn-markets in England.

But it may suffice at present to observe, that besides the prodigious quantity of corn, and meal, and malt, brought by sea, and by the navigation of the Thames, and other rivers, such as the Medway, the Lee, and several smaller rivers, to London, the like of which is not to be seen in the world; there is also a very great quantity, especially of meal and malt, brought by land carriage from the counties of Surry, Kent, Sussex, and Hampshire; for the wheat is carried by land even from beyond Winchester to Farnham market, and from thence to the mills about Guildford, and all the country adjoining, and then to London by water.

In like manner wheat is brought from Northamptonshire, nay, from Harborough in Leicestershire, and from Bedford, to the great markets of Hempstead, St. Albans, and Hitchin; and being then ground at innumerable mills (in the county of Hertford chiefly, which is full of mills), is brought by land carriage to London.

This vast carriage of corn and meal to London is a branch of trade, and is to be reckoned as such, otherwise I should not mention it; having hinted that I do not reckon the carriage of corn to market as an ordinary part of trade; but this article is a

part of the great carriage I am speaking of; and it is observable, that there are many farmers, and others that are not farmers, who keep teams of horses on purpose to let them out, for the bringing of corn and meal, and malt, to London; and generally these carriages go back laden with coals, grocery, wine, salt, oil, iron, cheese, and other heavy goods, for shopkeepers and tradesmen of the country; and it is a very great return they make for the mere expense of this carriage.

Here I might branch out this discourse very profitably, and very much for the benefit of the English tradesman, in giving an account of the corn trade, the butter and cheese trade, and the malting trade; three articles which employ so much of the lands of England, and such a prodigious number of our people and cattle, that they are, and I believe justly so, esteemed a quarter part of the whole inland commerce; but this would be a task so difficult, is a subject so nice, so full of variety, and of useful instruction to the tradesmen, as well as to the landed men, the parts of it are so many, the channels it runs in so differing and distant from one another, and the people are employed in it in so differing a manner, that it would take up a large volume by itself.

It must suffice to say, that England and Scotland, which are now prodigiously increased in the product of corn, and every day more and more increasing, do supply a very great part of the trading countries, I mean on the south and west shores of Europe, with corn, whenever their crops fail, or that by scarcity, or war, or any other means, the price in those countries make it worth while to carry it to them.

It is very seldom but in some parts or other the harvest fails; differing climates and differing soils make frequent deficiencies in corn; drought starves

them in Spain ; locusts devour them in Sicily, and on the coast of Barbary ; excessive rain hurts them in ^a France, and especially hail ; and the like in Germany ; and as to Holland, their doors are always open to receive corn, having little, very little, of their own ; not enough, as a good author, writing on that subject, expresses it, to feed their cocks and hens. Some or other of these markets seldom fail ; and England lying open by sea to them all, it is very seldom but we have a vend abroad.

As the corn trade is of such consequence to us, for the shipping off the overplus, so it is a very considerable business in itself ; the principal people concerned in it, as a trade, are, though very numerous, yet but of four denominations ;—

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1. Cornfactors ; | 3. Maltsters ; |
| 2. Mealmen ; | 4. Carriers. |

1. Cornfactors ; these, as corn is now become a considerable article of trade, as well foreign as inland, are now exceeding numerous ; and though we had them at first only in London, yet now they are also in all the great corn-markets and ports where corn is exported through the whole island of Britain ; and in all those ports they generally correspond with the cornfactors in England.

Those in the country ride about among the farmers, and buy the corn even in the barn before it is threshed ; nay, sometimes they buy it in the field standing, not only before it is reaped, but before it is ripe. This subtle business is very profit-

^a Since our author wrote, the French have taken much to the culture of corn ; and, having struck out a new and beneficial trade to themselves in that useful commodity, they, no doubt, will greatly interfere with us in it, at foreign markets.

able; for, by this means, cunningly taking advantage of the farmers, by letting them have money before-hand, which they, poor men, often want; they buy cheap when there is a prospect of corn being dear; yet sometimes they are mistaken too, and are caught in their own snare; but indeed that is but seldom; and were they famed for their honesty, as much as they generally are for their understanding in business, they might boast of having a very shining character.

2. Mealmen; these generally live either in London, or within thirty miles of it, that employment chiefly relating to the markets of London; they formerly were the general buyers of corn, that is to say, wheat and rye, in all the great markets about London, or within thirty or forty miles of London, which corn they used to bring to the nearest mills they could find to the market, and there have it ground, and then sell the meal to the shopkeepers, called mealmen, in London.

But a few years past have given a new turn to this trade; for now the bakers in London, and the parts adjacent, go to the markets themselves, and have cut out the shopkeeping mealmen; so the bakers are the mealmen, and sell the fine flour to private families, as the mealmen used to do. And as the bakers have cut out the meal shops in London, so the millers have cut out the mealmen in the country; and whereas they formerly only ground the corn for the mealmen, they now scorn that trade, buy the corn, and grind it for themselves; so the baker goes to the miller for his meal, and the miller goes to the market for the corn.

It is true, this is an anticipation in trade, and is against a stated wholesome rule of commerce, that trade ought to pass through as many hands as it can; and that the circulation of trade, like that of

the blood, is the life of the commerce. But I am not directing to what should be, but telling what is; it is certain the mealmen are, in a manner, cut out of the trade, both in London and in the country, except it be those country mealmen who send meal to London by barges, from all the counties bordering on the Thames, or on any navigable river running into the Thames west; and some about Chichester, Arundel, and the coast of Sussex, and Hampshire, who send meal by sea; and these are a kind of meal merchants, and have factors at London to sell it for them, either at Queenhithe, the great meal-market of England, or at other smaller markets.

By this change of the trade, the millers, especially in that part of England which is near the Thames, who in former times were esteemed people of a very mean employment, are now become men of vast business; and it is not an uncommon thing to have mills upon some of the large rivers near the town, which are let for three or four hundred pounds a year rent.

3. Maltsters; these are now no longer farmers, and, as might be said, working labouring people, as was formerly the case, when the public expense of beer and ale, and the number of alehouses, was not so great, but generally the most considerable farmers malted their own barley, especially in the towns and counties, from whence they supplied London, and almost every farmhouse of note.

As the demand for malt increased, those farmers found it for their purpose to make more and larger quantities of malt, than the barley they themselves sowed would supply; and so bought the barley at the smaller farms about them; till at length the market for malt still increasing, and the profits likewise encouraging, they sought far and near for

barley ; and at this time the malting trade at Ware, Hertford, Royston, Hitchin, and other towns on that side of Hertfordshire, fetch their barley twenty, thirty, or forty miles ; and all the barley they can get out of the counties of Essex, Cambridge, Bedford, Huntingdon, and even as far as Suffolk, is little enough to supply them ; and the like it is at all the malt-making towns upon the river of Thames, where the malt trade is carried on for supply of London, such as Kingston, Chertsey, Windsor, High Wycombe Reading, Wallingford, Abingdon, Thame, Oxford, and all the towns adjacent ; and at Abingdon in particular, they have a barley market, where you see every market-day four or five hundred carts and wagons of barley to be sold at a time, standing in rows in the market-place, besides the vast quantity carried directly to the maltsters' houses.

The malt trade thus increasing, it soon came out of the hands of the farmers ; for either the farmers found so much business, and to so much advantage, in the malting-trade, that they left off ploughing, and put off their farms, sticking wholly to the malt ; or other men, encouraged by the apparent advantage of the malting-trade, set it up by itself, and bought their barley, as is said above, of the farmers, when their malt trade first increased, or both these together ; which is most probable ; and thus malting became a trade by itself.

Again, though the farmers then generally left off malting in the manner as above, yet they did not wholly throw themselves out of the profit of the trade, but hired the making of their own malt ; that is, to put out their barley to the malthouses to be made on their account ; and this occasioned many men to erect malthouses, chiefly to make malt only for other people, at so much per quarter, as they

could agree ; and at intervals, if they wanted full employ, then they made it for themselves ; of these I shall say more presently.

Under the head of cornfactor, I might have taken notice, that there are many of those factors who sell no other grain than malt ; and are, as we may say, agents for the maltsters who stay in the country, and only send up their goods ; and assistants to those maltsters who come up themselves.

The mentioning these factors again here, naturally brings me to observe a new way of buying and selling of corn, as well as malt, which is introduced by these factors ; a practice greatly increased of late, though it is an unlawful way of dealing, and many ways prejudicial to the markets ; and this is buying of corn by samples only. The case is thus ;—

The farmer, who has perhaps twenty load of wheat in his barn, rubs out only a few handfuls of it with his hand, and puts it into a little money-bag ; and with this sample, as it is called, in his pocket, away he goes to market.

When he comes thither, he stands with his little bag in his hand, at a particular place where such business is done, and thither the factors or buyers come also ; the factor looks on the sample, asks his price, bids, and then buys ; and that not a sack or a load, but the whole quantity ; and away they go together to the next inn, to adjust the bargain, the manner of delivery, the payment, &c. ; thus the whole barn, or stack, or mow of corn, is sold at once ; and not only so, but it is odds but the factor deals with him ever after, by coming to his house ; and so the farmer troubles the market no more.

This kind of trade is chiefly carried on in those market-towns which are at a small distance from London, or at least from the river Thames ; such as Romford, Dartford, Grayes, Rochester, Maidstone,

Chelmsford, Malden, Colchester, Ipswich, and so down on both sides the river to the North Foreland, and particularly at Margate and Whitstable, on one side; and to the coast of Suffolk, and along the coast both ways beyond, and likewise up the river. Also,

At these markets you may see, that, besides the market-house, where a small quantity of corn perhaps is seen, the place mentioned above, where the farmers and factors meet, is like a little exchange, where all the rest of the business is transacted, and where a hundred times the quantity of corn is bought and sold, as appears in sacks in the market-house; it is thus, in particular, at Grayes, and at Dartford: and though on a market-day there are very few wagons with corn to be seen in the market, yet the street or market-place, nay, the towns and inns, are thronged with farmers and samples on one hand, and with mealmen, London bakers, millers, and cornfactors, and other buyers, on the other. The rest of the week you see the wagons and carts continually coming all night and all day, laden with corn of all sorts, to be delivered on board the hoys, where the hoymen stand ready to receive it, and generally to pay for it also: and thus a prodigious corn trade is managed in the market, and little or nothing to be seen of it.

Now though this is openly done, nor do I see it can be practicable to prevent it, yet it must be acknowledged that this is really a clandestine trade, utterly unlawful, and may sometimes be very inconvenient; as it opens a door to the fatal and forbidden trade of ingrossing, regrating, forestalling the markets, and the like; which, in cases of scarcity, may be, and sometimes has been, very injurious to the public, and especially to the poor.

It is also a great injury to the markets, as well as.

to the market-towns, in preventing the concourse of people and horses, and carriage to the place, which affects the whole trade of that market, as is visible in those towns where it is practised to a great degree; as also to the market, as a property; for the markets of England are frequently the particular estates of private persons; and the markets in corporations are generally the estate and property of the corporation as a body politic.

But it is not our business here to discourse of the injustice in this part of trade, but to describe it, and give an account, that it is so. There are many branches of this corn trade, which vary as the circumstances of time, and of public affairs, influence it; by which frequent prohibitions and restraints are laid upon the exportation, and sometimes limitations of the price: but these things are too particular for this place.

CHAP. XLVII.

Of the other principles and subjects of the home trade of Great Britain; particularly of the manufactures of wool, metals, minerals, &c. The places to which the British manufactures are chiefly exported and sold. With a table of metals and minerals found in this island.

I AM now to speak of the other parts or branches of the home trade of Great Britain, not mentioned in the two preceding chapters; and it seems proper to despatch these several branches together, that our account of things may not be confused.

The home trade of England, as is noted already, may be understood to consist of things produced at home, or things imported from abroad; and as all these gradually come into the hands of the tradesman, so they more particularly become the subject of the home trade. The goods imported from abroad are bought by the tradesman from the merchant-importer: the goods produced at home, are, in like manner, bought from the grower or first producer; such as wool from the grazier, corn from the farmer, metal from the miner, and the like: or from the merchant, or maker; such as woollen manufactures from the clothier, cotton manufactures from the maker, leather from the tanner, earthenware from the potter, wrought iron from the blacksmith, wrought plate from the silversmith, and the like: and thus these also become the subject of trade, and so employ the tradesmen of whom I have been speaking.

Of the goods imported from abroad, and bought of the merchant, I have spoken in the two preceding chapters. These foreign importations, coming into the shopkeeper's hands, or into the hands of manufacturers, who, as I have said, are so far the consumers, are now no more to be treated as foreign, but the branches of the general home consumption; and, in part, are the support of the tradesmen of England.

The next and chief article is our own product, or inland goods in general; and these, as above, are divided into two heads :

I. The mere product of nature; such as wool, skins, hides, corn, coals, metals, &c.

II. The product of art; such as we more particularly and properly call manufacture.

Both these are the subject of trade, and the support of the tradesmen of Great Britain, of whom I am speaking: and since it is necessary to describe them more particularly, I shall do it so, as that the tradesman may receive instruction too in his business from the description; and so make this part of the work useful to him, as a tradesman, as well as the other. I begin with the manufactures.

Great Britain, as we shall see in its course, has her people employed in many very useful manufactures, which make very considerable articles in our home trade, as well as in our foreign trade, giving business to the tradesman, and to the merchant also, as it does likewise employment and wages to the poor.

In giving an account of these manufactures, it will be very useful to the tradesman to observe, not only what the manufactures themselves are, their names and kinds, but where they are principally

made, and in what part of the country ; that so the tradesmen, dealing in those goods, may have at least a general notion of the manufacture itself, what it is, how made, and where to inquire after it.

But here, previous to the several species of the woollen manufacture, there is a necessary observation to be made relating to the first and general operation of the thing called wool. However plain and easy the road of manufacturing may be, or rather appears to be, I must let the tradesman know, that the apparatus in general is in itself very considerable, and almost equal to the manufacture itself ; and that, in order to understand the manufacture, it is necessary to understand the several things done, in order to prepare the materials, and the many hands those materials pass through, before they come to the finisher, or, as I may call him, the master manufacturer, who sends them to market, by whom they come to the tradesman himself.

The wool and the oil mentioned in our beginning, as the great principles of the manufacture in general, are brought, by different channels, to the hands of the manufacturer ; and indeed pass a long way in the ordinary channel of trade, before they meet at the clothier's house.

The oil has already been mentioned ; it chiefly comes from Gallipoli, a city in the gulf of Otranto in Italy, and in the kingdom of Naples ; or from Seville and Cadiz in Spain ; and from Faro, Figueira, Lisbon, and Oporto in Portugal ; but the greatest quantity is that from Gallipoli. I need not add, that this is imported by the merchant, bought by the tradesman, and sold to the manufacturer.

The wool has many channels, as well from abroad as at home. And

Wool from abroad makes only two principal articles.

1. Spanish wool; of which I need say no more than as is said of the oil; it is imported from Spain by the merchant, and chiefly from Bilboa; is bought by the tradesman, sold again to the clothier, being mostly used up with the English wool, and mixed together, the Spanish being too fine and short to be used by itself, except in some particular goods.

2. Irish wool; this comes over by allowance settled by parliament; and is only admitted to be imported at the following ports; viz., at Biddeford, Barnstaple, Mynhead, Bristol, and Liverpool.

We have sometimes, and in small quantities, a good sort of wool from Barbary; the African wool being of good substance, a long full staple, and not very coarse; and there is good reason to think, that if the Spaniards were an industrious, diligent people, and understood anything of improvement, and especially of manufacturing, and would furnish themselves with this wool of Barbary, and mix it with their own, it would work as well together as could be desired; and they might make as good a manufacture as our Spanish cloths.

We have also sometimes wool imported from Turkey, called Caramania wool, which is very good, but the quantity is but small.

3. The English wool; this is the main article, the substance of the whole manufacture, and consequently the chief article in all the home trade of Great Britain.

This wool takes a great many several turns through a great many hands, and appears in many

several shapes, suffers a great many several operations, and even alterations, before it comes to the manufacturer or clothier ; and, in those various turns of its species, it may be said to be, for some time, in the hands of the tradesman, and is managed as an article of the home trade, and a very considerable one too ; though afterwards it ceases to move in that channel, and becomes a material in the hand of the labourer or manufacturer, as will be seen in its order.

First, The wool itself, being taken from the sheep's back, either by the shearer, the farmer, or by the feltmonger from the skin, becomes a subject of trade ; and is either sold to the stapler, or wool merchant, and by him to the manufacturer, or is carried by the farmer, and feltmonger, as is sometimes the case, to the particular counties where it is consumed.

These staplers and wool dealers are scattered all over the kingdom, and are a very important and considerable sort of tradesmen, being the first tradesmen into whose hands the said wool comes for sale : the principal towns in England where they are found to be in any numbers together, are in London, or Southwark rather, being principally in Barnaby-street, and the town of Blandford in Dorsetshire ; there are also some in Norwich, and in Lincolnshire, and in Leicestershire a great many.

Stourbridge fair is famous for the great quantity of wool sold there, and which goes beyond any other fairs or markets in all the north or east parts of England.

But wherever the wool is carried, and by whomsoever it is sold, this of course brings it to the first part of its manufacturing ; and this consists of two operations :

1. Combing.

2. Carding.

The combers are a particular set of people, and the combing a trade by itself; the carding, on the other hand, is chiefly done by workmen hired by the clothiers themselves; the combers buy the wool in the fleece or in the pack, and when it is combed, put it on to the next operation on their own account. The carding is generally done by hired servants, as above; these operations hand on the wool to the next, which is common to both, viz., the spinning.

But before it comes this length, it requires a prodigious number of people, horses, carts or wagons, to carry it from place to place; for the people of those countries where the wool is grown, or taken as above, are not the people who spin it into yarn.

On the contrary, some whole counties and parts of counties are employed in spinning, who see nothing of any manufacture among them, the mere spinning only excepted.

Thus the weavers of Norwich and of the parts adjacent, and the weavers of Spitalfields in London, send exceeding great quantities of wool into remote counties to be spun, besides what they spin in both those populous counties of Norfolk and Suffolk; particularly they employ almost the whole counties of Cambridge, Bedford, and Hertford; and besides that, as if all this part of England was not sufficient for them, they send a very great quantity of wool one hundred and fifty miles by land carriage to the north, as far as Westmorland, to be spun; and the yarn is brought back in the same manner to London and to Norwich.

This vast consumption of wool in Norfolk and

Suffolk is supplied chiefly out of Lincolnshire, a county famous for the large sheep bred up for the supply of the London markets, as the western manufacturers are supplied from Leicestershire ; of which in its place.

Nor is all this sufficient still ; but as if all England was not able to spin sufficient to the manufacture, a very great quantity of yarn, ready spun, is brought from Ireland, landed at Bristol, and brought from thence by land carriage to London, and then to Norwich also.

The county of Essex, a large and exceedingly populous county, is chiefly taken up with the great manufacture of bays and perpets ; the consumption of wool for this manufacture is chiefly bought of the staplers in London ; the sorting, oiling, combing, or otherwise preparing the wool, is the work of the master manufacturer or bay maker ; and the yarn is generally spun in the same county, the extent of it being not less than between fifty and sixty miles' square, and full of great and populous towns, such as Colchester, Braintree, Coggeshall, Chelmsford, Billericay, Bishop Stortford, Saffron Walden, Waltham, Romford, and innumerable smaller but very populous villages, and, in a word, the whole county full of people.

The western part of England, superior both in manufactures, and in numbers of people also, are not to be supplied either with wool or with spinning, among themselves, notwithstanding two such articles in both, as no other part of England can come up to by a great deal ; viz.,

1. Notwithstanding the prodigious numbers of sheep fed upon those almost boundless downs and plains in the counties of Dorset, Wilts, Gloucester, Somerset, and Hampshire, where the multitudes,

not of sheep only, but even of flocks of sheep, are not to be reckoned up; insomuch that the people of Dorchester say there are six hundred thousand sheep always feeding within six miles round that one town.

2. Notwithstanding the large and most populous counties of Wilts, Somerset, Gloucester, and Devon, in which the manufacture being so exceeding great, all the women inhabitants may be supposed to be thoroughly employed in spinning the yarn for them, and in which counties are, besides, the populous cities of Exeter, Salisbury, Wells, Bath, Bristol, and Gloucester; I say besides these, the greatest towns, and the greatest number of them that any other part of the whole kingdom of Great Britain can show, some of which exceed even the great towns of Leeds, Wakefield, Sheffield, &c. in the North; such as Taunton, Devizes, Tiverton, Crediton, Bradford, Trowbridge, Westbury, Froome, Stroud, Biddeford, Barnstaple, Dartmouth, Bridgewater, Mynhead, Poole, Weymouth, Dorchester, Blandford, Wimbourn, Sherbourne, Cirencester, Honiton, Warminster, Tewksbury, Tedbury, Malmesbury, and abundance of others, too many to set down; all which I mention, because those who pretend to have calculated the numbers of people employed in these four counties, assure me that there are not so few as a million of people constantly employed there in spinning and weaving for the woollen manufacture only; that besides the great cities, towns, and seaports, mentioned above, there are not less than one hundred and twenty market towns, six large cities, and fifteen hundred parishes, some of which are exceeding full of people.

And yet, notwithstanding all this, such is the greatness of this prodigious manufacture, that they

are said to take yearly thirty thousand packs of wool, and twenty-five thousand packs of yarn ready spun from Ireland.

From hence, take a short view of the middle part of England ; Leicester, Northampton, and Warwick shires, have a prodigious number of large sheep, which, as is said of Lincolnshire, are bred for the London markets ; the wool, consequently, is of an exceeding long staple, and the fineness is known also to be extraordinary.

This wool is brought every week, Tuesday and Friday, to the market at Cirencester, on the edge of Gloucester and Wilts ; the quantity is supposed to be at least five hundred packs of wool per week.

Here it is bought by the woolcombers and carders of Tedbury, Malmesbury, and the towns on all that side of Wilts and Gloucester, besides what the clothiers themselves buy ; these carry it out far and near among the poor people of all the adjacent countries, for the spinning ; and having made the yarn, they supply that manufacture as far as Froome, Warminster, and Taunton ; and thus the west country is furnished.

The north requires another inspection ; the rest of the Leicestershire wool merchants, who do not bring their wool southward, carry it forward to the north, to Wakefield, Leeds, and Halifax ; here they mix it with, and use it among the northern wool, which is not esteemed so fine.

Not forgetting, notwithstanding, that they have a great deal of very fine wool, and of a good staple, from the wolds or downs in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and from the bishoprick of Durham, more especially the banks of the Tees, where, for a long way, the grounds are rich, and the sheep thought to be the largest in England.

Hither all the finest wool of those countries is

brought; and the coarser sort, and the Scots' wool, which comes into Halifax, Rochdale, Bury, and the manufacturing towns of Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland, are employed in the coarser manufactures of those countries, such as kerseys, half-thicks, yarn stockings, duffields, rugs, Turkey work, chairs, and many other useful things, which those countries abound in.

Thus you have, in as few words as may be, a scheme of the disposition of the wool, as it is the apparatus to the woollen manufacture, as well before it comes to be spun into the yarn as after.

It remains to give the tradesman a like view of the manufacture itself, when finished and made fit for the market, that is to say, for the tradesmen. How they dispose of them afterwards is a thing by itself.

The several manufactures of Great Britain, as they are settled for the making part in the several counties, towns, and villages of England, are as follow.

N. B. It is not to be understood that these manufactures are all made, or only made, in the towns or counties here appropriated to them, or are made nowhere else; on the contrary, some manufactures are made in several places at the same time, and that in considerable quantities, as shalloons, druggets, kerseys, stockings, stuffs, camlets, cheneys, and several other goods, as by the following table of the manufacturing places will appear.

A TABLE OF MANUFACTURES, AS WELL OF WOOL,
AS OF METALS, MINERALS, &c.

An account of the manufactures of wool made in Great Britain, the particular species, and where chiefly made.

Broadcloth.	Mixed, or medley cloths, made in Plain white cloths for dying, made at	Wilts. Somersetshire, Worcestersh. Kent, Surry, and Devon. Salisbury, Shrewsbury, Worcester, Cirencester, and through all Gloucestershire.
Narrow woollen cloths, mixed, called dozens, made in the West Riding of Yorkshire, at		Leeds, Wakefield, Bradford, and Huddersfield.
Druggets, Duroys, Serges, and Stuffs,	of many denominations, made chiefly in	Wilts. Somerset. Berksh. The stuffs at
Woollens, coarse	Rugs, chair coverings, called Turkey work, pennistons, half-thick, duffields, &c.	made in Cumberland, Lancash, Westmorland.
Blankets in Oxfordshire and Wales.		
Flannels	Salisbury, Shrewsbury, in Wales, sold at Wrexham market.	
Cottons in Westmorland and Lancashire.		
Fustians of various sorts, made in	Bolton, Manchester, and the parts adjacent.	
Tammies, or Coventry ware, at Coventry.		
Small things, called Manchester ware, at Manchester.		
Stockings, of many sorts;	woven, made chiefly in	Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Derbysh., Warwicksh., London, alias Spitalfields.

Stockings, of many sorts ;	knit hose, yarn,	Gloucestershire, Yorksh., Worcestershire, Wales, Somersetshire, Northamp- ton, Aberdeen.
Hats,		
Kerseys, or coarse cloths, made at	Felts, Castors, Beavers,	Leicester, Warwick, Derbyshire, London.
	Bradford, Halifax, Rochdale, Guildford, Devonshire,	and the country round. } these are called Devon- Somersetshire } shire kerseys.
Shalloons made in	Northamptonsh., West Riding of Yorksh., Berksh., Somersetshire, Wiltshire, Hamp- shire, Edinb., and Stirling in Scotland.	
	Those last are called serges, fingrums.	Also coarse stuffs, at Mus- selburg.
Bays,	Double, Single, Minnikin,	Colchester, } and several Bocking, } other towns Braintree, } in the co. of Witham, } Essex ; also Coggeshall, } at Manchest.
Says, at Sudbury ; formerly also at Colchester.		
Perpets, or long ells, at	Tiverton, &c., in Devonshire, Sudbury in Suffolk, and also at Colchester.	
Frieze, at Worcester, and in Ireland.		
Plaiding, at Coventry, and in Scotland.		
Linseywoolsey stuffs, for hangings and printing, at Kidderminster,	in Worces- tershire.	
Seamen's high-crowned caps, called Mon- mouth caps, at Bewdley,		

Manufacture of soft metals and minerals.

Lead made into	Pigs and sows of lead for exportation.
	Sheet lead, } Covering of buildings, sheathing of milled or } ships, cisterns, coffins, basins or cast for } fountains for water.
	Cast lead in grosser quantities for statues and imagery ; pipe lead for conveying water.
Tin made into	Bullets and small shot of all sorts, moulds of sundry kinds for earthenware, litharge for glaz- ing vessels made of earth ; calcined lead for painters' colours, mixtures with other metals for alloy.
	Blocks for exportation.
	Pewter, } Dishes, plates. wrought } Pots and vessels.
Mine- rals.	into } Small things of many sorts.
	Moulds of several kinds,
	Solder for joining and cementing other metals.
Glass	Alum, copperas, quicksilver, ochre, black lead, vitriol.

*British manufactures of hardwares, metals, and
minerals.*

Fine flint glass, includ- ing	all sorts of drinking-glasses, cruets, apothecaries' and chemists' glass phials, re- torts, &c., fine bottles for cases, decanters, &c., sconces, branches, and small ware toys, &c., also watchglasses, tubes, and glasses for perspectives, spectacles, telescopes, &c.	London,
		Bristol, Stour- bridge, Notting- ham, Sheffield, New- castle.
Plate glass, for	Looking-glasses, coach- glasses, and fine sashes, Crown glass, formerly called Normandy glass for win- dows, sashes, pictures, &c., ordinary window glass for quarries, &c.	only at London.
		Bristol, Stour- bridge. Newcast. London.

Glass	{ Green glass	{ Bottles, Phials, Retorts, Melon-glasses,	} made at	{ Leith, London, Bristol, Gloucester, Stourbridge, Newcastle.
	Cast	{ Guns Shells	{ Cannon, Small arms. Bombs, Hand grenades.	Chimney-backs, iron pots and pipes for water, furnaces of many sorts, iron plates and bars, retorts.
	Forged	{ Sheffield, ware and Birming-ham ware.	Edged tools, knives and scissors ; cutlery ware and toys, nails, hinges, hooks, spikes, locks and keys of many sorts for great gates, house doors, horse locks, fieldlocks, padlocks, thief-locks (fetters), gun locks, razors, surgeons' instruments, clothiers' shears, and smaller shears.	
Iron,	Hammered;	{ Chain for horse harness and for mooring of ships ; anchors, crows, and tires for wheels ; iron balusters, rails, espaliers, palisades ; gratings for grates, gardens, &c., bar iron of sundry kinds, screws, &c.		
	Milled iron.	{ Iron hoops, and all split and flatted iron. Iron wire of all kinds. Iron springs for clocks and watches.		

	Statues and imagery.
Battery	Pots, saucepans, kettles, and all sorts of such-like vessels, afterwards hammered.
	Blacklatten, or metal prepared for clock-work, jacks, engines, &c.
Brass and copper.	Foun- dery- ware of all sorts ; such as
	Brass cannon and mortars ; mortars for apothecaries, &c. bells, great and small ; pipes for engines ; wheel and mill-work ; brass buttons ; coach and upholstery nails, &c.
Wrought or ham- mered.	Clock-work and jack-work, watch-work and mill-work, kitchen-ware of all kinds ; clocks and dials, monuments, polished plate brass, and toys innumerable.

Having thus fixed the places where these several manufactures are made, we should consider their vent and consumption, and this in two particulars :—

1. The circulation of them through all the parts of England or Great Britain alternately, where they are not particularly made ; and this being spoken of in the describing the circulation, I say no more to it here.
2. The exportation of it to foreign countries, where it is carried in way of merchandise, which it may be very useful to the country trader, though not a merchant, to be informed of, that he may know what particular merchants to apply himself to for the sale of those particular goods which he has occasion to sell, and for any other purposes of trade, as it comes in his way.

Countries and places to which the English woollen manufactures of broadcloths, &c., are chiefly exported, and at what markets sold.

To Turkey and Persia ;	By the Turkey company, to	Constantinople ; sold there, and the consumption there.
		Smyrna and Scanderoon ; carried from thence to Aleppo, and sold there to the Armenian and Georgian merchants, for raw silks, galls, and drugs, and by them carried to Ispahan, and sold there.
		Alexandria, and carried from thence to Grand Cairo, and sold there; then carried from thence by the Arabian Turks to Suez on the sea, and carried down to Jeddah, Medina, and Mecca in Arabia.
By the E. India company, to	Gambaroon in the gulf of Persia, and sold there to the Persian merchants, who carry them from thence to Ispahan in Persia.	
	Agra, the capital of the great Mogul's country, by the way of Surat; also a small quantity to China, chiefly dyed black.	
By the ordinary merchants, to Italy, viz.	Leghorn, from whence several English merchants ship them again for Turkey.	
	Genoa; from thence they are carried into Piedmont, Milan, and all Lombardy.	
	Venice, for the same trade up into Austria, Stiria, Carniola, and Croatia.	
	Messina, where there is an annual fair for those goods in particular.	

By the ordinary merchants to Italy, with great quantities of druggets, serges, long-ells, stuffs, &c., to Leghorn, Naples, Messina, Genoa, Venice, for their own consumption in Italy and Sicily, the duchies of Milan, Mantua, and all on that side the Alps, as also to Turin and all the country of Piedmont and Savoy.

Portugal { Lisbon, Oporto. { From these two a prodigious quantity of English goods are exported again to the Brazils, and also to Goa in the East Indies.

Figuera —

Cadiz, for the loading the galleons, which lie there twice a year, and carry a very great quantity of all sorts of woollen goods to the Spanish West Indies; and the quantity is supposed to amount to above the value of 300,000*l.* yearly.

Spain. { Seville, Malaga, Carthagena, Alicant, Barcelona, Corunna, Vigo, Bilboa, Fonterabia, } almost all Spain being principally clothed with the British woollen manufactures, especially fine Spanish medley cloths, druggets, stuffs, serges, long-ells, perpetuanas, double bays, says, hats, and hose.

France, pretending to imitate, or rather counterfeit our woollen manufactures, desires rather to have our wool, and receives but small quantities of our woollen manufactures, because the prohibitions of trade remain between the nations with regard to the unwrought wool of Great Britain and Ireland.

Holland. The Dutch take from Great Britain, as some have said who have calculated it most exactly, above two millions sterling yearly in woollen manufactures only, besides other goods, which are not only consumed in their own dominions, but are carried by them

up the Maese into France, Flanders, Lorrain, Germany, and up the Rhine, the Moselle, and Saar, into all the countries between these rivers, as far as into Switzerland ; and again by the Danube into Swabia, Bavaria, and Austria, as far as Augsburg, Munich, and Vienna ; also by the rivers Main and Neckar to Frankfort on the Maine, supplying the great mart there, and by that means all the country of Wurtzburg, Bamberg, and the great circle of Franconia ; and to Heidelberg on the Neckar, and by that means to the cities of Nuremberg and Nordlingen, and the upper palatinate ; in all which countries are sold very great quantities of British woollen manufactures of all sorts.

Hamburg. In like manner the Hamburgers, who have what was once called the staple of woollen cloth settled among them, supply all the circles of the Lower Saxony, and of Westphalia, with woollen cloths and other manufactures of England ; also they send them up the Elbe, to the great fair at Leipsic ; from whence the German merchants buying them, carry them up into Silesia, Lusatia, and Bohemia, as far as Prague ; also up the river Spree into Brandenburg, to Berlin, and even to the frontiers of Poland.

Bremen. The Bremers do the like, by the help of the river Weser, by which they vend the woollen manufactures of Great Britain into the country of Munster and Brunswick, and all the dominions of Hanover, Zell, Lunenburg, and the countries adjacent.

*British woollen manufactures exported to the North,
Baltic, and East seas.*

To Norway,	Bergen, Christiana, Drammen, Drontheim, and all the ports of that kingdom.	From the Maelstrom in the east sea, to Dron- theim, the people are chiefly clothed with En- glish goods.
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To Swe-
den, the
principal
ports now
left, are { Stockholm,
Gottenburg.

From these two ports the whole kingdom of Sweden is served with British goods, especially the woollen manufacture, which is the general clothing of all the people, except the Laps and Boors, who clothe with a coarser stuff of their own making, or with skins of beasts.

N. B. Our export to those parts is very considerable, though lessened by the late war, and the unhappy poverty of the Swedes.

The
German
shore of
the Bal-
tic, in
which are { Copenhagen,
Lubeck,
Wismar,
Rostock,
Stralsund,
Stettin,
Koningsberg,
Dantzic.

In all which ports great quantities of the English woollen manufactures are imported; and are the clothing of the principal inhabitants of the said cities, and of the countries adjacent.

N. B. They are likewise carried by the rivers into remoter countries on that side also, as by the Oder and the Wurta from Stettin into Poland; also in the emperor's hereditary countries, as high as Breslau, and the upper Glogaw in Silesia; and by the Vistula, from Dantzic to Elbing, Marienburg and Thorn to Warsaw, and even to Cracow, in the heart of Poland; in all which countries the nobility, gentry, and principal burghers, are clothed with English cloth, druggets, serges, stuffs, &c. and consume a very great quantity.

British woollen manufactures exported to the czar of Muscovy's dominions, and thereto

Archangel,	{	Wybourg, Petersburg, Riga, Revel, Narva,

The great quantity of British goods exported to all these ports and places, will be judged by this, that the late czar himself, and all his court, with all the chief of his people from Petersburg to Moscow, and down to Astracan, have entered now, within these few years, into the general use of the English manufactures, and are all clothed with them, to the infinite increase of our trade thither ; so that whereas in the year 1676, or thereabouts, that whole trade was carried on to Archangel only, and not more than six ships a year at most went from England to that port, and not above 100 or 200 pieces of cloth a year, we now send to Petersburg and other Muscovite ports, 150 sail yearly, and above 30,000 pieces of cloth, broad and narrow, druggets, stuffs, and other sorts of our woollen manufactures, the trade also daily increasing.

A TABLE OF METALS AND MINERALS FOUND IN
GREAT BRITAIN.

*Mines of metals and minerals, coals, stone, earth, &c.,
found in Great Britain.*

Tin, found only in Cornwall and Devonshire.

Lead in { Somersetshire, on Mendip hills ; Wales, South and North ; Derbyshire, in the Peak ; Nottinghamshire ; Yorkshire, North Riding ; Northumberland ; Scotland, and there particularly in the lead hills, the estate of the earl of Hopton, and near Drumlanrig, the lands of the duke of Queensbury.

Iron in { Sussex, Kent, Surry, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Northumberland } Of this iron are made chiefly such things as are cast in the furnace, as cannon, cannon bullets, furnaces, pots, boilers, plate iron, bomb shells, hand grenades, and the like.

Much of the iron found in those countries is used by the nailers, and also it is worked with Swedish iron in abundance of the smaller iron manufactures at Birmingham, Sheffield, &c.

Copper in { Cornwall, Devonshire, Wales, Lancashire, Cumberland. } This copper is already found to be as good and fit for all uses as the Swedish copper, and is now used in our battery works erected at Bristol ; and the persons concerned a few years ago obtained an act for laying a duty upon foreign blacklatten, and metal prepared ; which, being explained, are plates of brass, fitted for the workmen to cut out for the small manufactures of brass, as clock-work, kitchen-work, and the like.

Lapis Calaminaris, found on Mendip hills, in Somerse tshire.

Alum, { the East Riding of Yorkshire,
in { the bishopric of Durham.

Rock salt, in Lancashire and Cheshire.

Quick- { some, but not a great quantity, found in the tin
silver, { mines in Cornwall and Devonshire.

Coals, { Scotland, Somersetshire, Wales, North and
South, Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottingham,
Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumber-
land, Northumberland, Durham.

Stone, { Grindstones in { Yorkshire, near Sheffield,
Northumberland near New-
castle, and Durham.
Millstones and { Derbyshire, in the Peak, near
whetstones, { Chatsworth, Wales.
Marble and ala- { Derbysh. Devonsh. Cornwall,
baster, { Staffordsh. Wales, Purbeck.
Fine black or { Cornwall,
blue slate, { Devonshire.
Freestone for { Portland, Purbeck, Lincoln-
building, { shire, Yorkshire.
Firestone, in Surry.
Bur-stone, in Kent.

Earth, { Fullers' earth, { Wilts. Devon, Suffolk, Surry,
Kent, Yorkshire.
Pipes and pot- { Wales, Stourbridge, Notting-
ters' clay, { ham, Northampton, South-
ampton, Shropshire.
Chalk, chiefly { Kent, Surry, Sussex, Oxford,
Bucks. Wilts. Dorset.
Ochre in Surry.
Black lead in Lancashire.

There are many other productions, as well of nature as of art, as well growth of the country as manufacture of the people, which might be reckoned up if it were within the compass of our present work.

But these, as they are the chief, are taken notice of, to let the reader see something of the fund of trade, upon which so great a structure as that of the general commerce of Great Britain, as well abroad as at home, is raised up, and how it is carried on.

After this account, no man need wonder that we speak of the tradesmen of this nation as of a considerable part of mankind, and a people to whom it is well worth while to communicate the advices and instructions contained in this work.

CHAP. XLVIII.

Who are not and who are to be deemed tradesmen, in the present acceptation of the word. A brief sketch of the numerous trading towns in England. That there may be supposed to be near two millions of people in South Britain or England only, who may be denominated tradesmen, besides multitudes who are concerned in trade, and are not in strictness so called in this general calculation.

As the trade of England is exceeding great, so is the number of the tradesmen who carry it on; and the particular employments into which they are divided are very many; but, for brevity, I shall reduce them to a very few.

1. The husbandman or farmer, and the grazier, though they are springs and wheels in the movement of trade, are not tradesmen in the present sense of the word.
2. The master manufacturer and handicraft, though the very foundation of trade, are yet not properly speaking tradesmen.
3. The retailer, including the shopkeepers of all sorts, are tradesmen.
4. The wholesaleman, including several trades, though not keeping either shops or warehouses.
5. The carriers and masters of vessels for the coasting business, who, keeping servants and carriages, are generally considerable traders.
6. Brokers, and buyers and sellers of cattle,

corn, and other provisions by wholesale, for other men.

These are the men who carry on the whole trade of the kingdom; and under them almost all those whom we call labouring poor are maintained and employed. For example:—

The farmer and grazier employ under them the cottagers and mere husbandmen, who plough, sow, harvest, and carry out to market the first principles of all commerce, viz., the provisions for the subsistence of the whole, such as corn and cattle, bread and flesh; the poor servants which are employed by these farmers and graziers are numberless, as well men-servants as maid-servants, dairy-maids, house-maids, &c.

The manufacturer and handicraft, or artist of every kind, are indeed the first springs, the wheels in the whole movement; they buy the wool, put it out to spin, and after that to weave; and under them employ and subsist many hundred thousands of poor people, whose dependence is wholly upon it, and who yet, in the true sense of the word, are not tradesmen.

But the factor employed by the said manufacturer, who sells the goods from the very first hand to the retailers, who sell them at home, and the merchants who export them abroad; these indeed are real tradesmen, and the chief of tradesmen; and though they are but few compared to the other heads, and chiefly reside in London, yet they correspond with all the nation, and may be said to be the most considerable both in business, credit, and in substance.

Lastly, the retailer; this is the last and finishing agent of trade; all commerce ends in the consump-

tion and with the consumer; in this number are included all the country shopkeepers in England, whose number is not to be known any more than either the magnitude of our inland trade, or the value and extent of the tradesmen's stocks, and the commerce they drive; but I shall give some little specimens from such particulars as may be more easily come at; by which at least it will appear how impracticable it is to make a regular and exact computation.

I gave some hints in chap. XLVI. from the prodigious expense of carriage only, which attends the commerce of this island, what the whole must be; but that article is not sufficiently spoken to there, nor was it intended to be so; you will therefore have some further light into it, under the present inquiry.

We have in England near 10,000 parishes; some, indeed, and the most in number, are but villages, and thin of people; but others again are very large and populous towns, thronged with inhabitants, because full of business, and bigger than many cities; I might name some smaller, which are yet very populous, such as Ware, Chelmsford, Kingston, Uxbridge, and several such as these.

There is hardly a parish of all the 10,000 but has some of these retailers in them, and not a few of them have many hundreds in them.

We are told that there are in the parish of Manchester above 60,000 people, in that of Halifax 100,000 communicants, in Sheffield 50,000, in Yarmouth 20,000, in Frome 50,000; and so in proportion in other places.

We are told also, there are ten trading towns in Lancashire, the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the adjacent country, which have most of them not above one parish, and none above two; and in most

of them the highest magistrate is a constable, and yet have each of them more people than the city of York, and some of them twenty times as much trade; such as Warrington, Manchester, Macclesfield, Liverpool, Halifax, Leeds, Wakefield, Sheffield, Doncaster, Huddersfield; in all these the number of shopkeepers, retailers, and such as come under the proper denomination of tradesmen, are not to be calculated by any rule, or guessed at by any proportion.

There are abundance of other very populous trading and manufacturing towns in England, which may have from two to four or five parishes, the number of whose tradesmen, as well wholesale as retail, is not to be reckoned up; such as Hull, Birmingham, Newcastle upon Tyne, Leicester, Nottingham, Taunton, Reading, Plymouth, Portsmouth, Rochester, and abundance more, too many to name. An experienced tradesman assures me that there are 60,000 tradesmen in the particular denomination of a tradesman, as here described, within the county of Norfolk only; and he adds that he believes there are not less than 100,000, if I allow those to be tradesmen who are dealers in wool, in spun yarn, and in the manufactures of stuffs made all over that county, and are not makers; and several traders of other kinds, all which I must acknowledge ought to be reckoned so.

If this be true, then there may be near two millions of tradesmen, including their servants, apprentices, and journeymen, in Great Britain; for I have yet said nothing of Scotland, where the number of tradesmen is very considerable also, and their trade considerable too.

Besides these, I have not yet reckoned those travelling tradesmen whom we call Manchester-men, and those who carry Leeds' cloth, kerseys, and

Yorkshire cloth of all sorts, upon horses, all over Britain, who are some of them very considerable dealers, and furnish the shopkeepers all over Britain with their goods, without cutting or retailing anything. Also,

Besides those who travel and go from house to house selling by retail, and who are properly pedlars, and called by that name, many of which also keep shops, or chambers, or warehouses, in the adjacent market-towns, and sell their goods in the villages round; these all come under the title of tradesmen; they are by some called petty chapmen, and the number of them is very great, though, as some think, not so great as they have formerly been.

Under these denominations the general commerce of this kingdom is carried on, the home made manufactures dispersed and circulated, and the foreign importations handed about to the last consumer.

There are also abundance of other people, who must still come into the list of tradesmen, besides those already named. For example:—

All our brewers and distillers, and the dealers in many things relating to them, as the hop merchants, hoop and stave merchants for their casks, nay, the iron merchants for their iron hoops; and to join them together, all the vintners, innholders, ale-house-keepers, and strong-water shops; these are all tradesmen, for they buy and sell, trade on this side and that, and are no manufacturers on one hand or on the other.

The butchers are also tradesmen, and particularly that part of them of which we have a great many in London, called carcass butchers; that is to say, wholesale butchers, who kill the meat in great

quantities, and sell it out to the butchers in the outparts, and in the villages and towns near the city; these are indeed the more considerable of the kind; but the retail butchers are tradesmen too, for they buy and sell continually.

Horse coursers, or jockeys, and horse dealers, are all tradesmen; so are the buyers and sellers of cattle, whether fat or lean, I mean such as act between the breeder and the butcher, and between the breeder and the feeder, of which there are great numbers in England; some are called salesmen, some cow-jobbers, some dealers, some brokers, and many of them factors, as particularly the buyers of cheese, butter, corn, and malt, are called factors.

These and many other kinds of dealers may be called tradesmen, though they keep neither shop nor warehouse; and of these the number is beyond all account.

CHAP. XLIX.

Of the trade in liquors, as well wine as beer, ale, &c. The vast numbers of people that it employs. A brief hint for a regulation, as to the proper persons to be indulged in keeping publichouses. That the trade of the nation at present is too apt to run out into belly and back.

THE next considerable article of trade, managed out of the class of shopkeepers and warehouse-keeping, is the sale of liquors, which, though not equally necessary as the corn-trade, yet is, perhaps, equally considerable, if not superior to it. The last chapter allows the vintners, victuallers, innkeepers, brandy-shops, &c., to be tradesmen, and to rank them accordingly. I must now inquire a little into the substance they deal in, which is a considerable branch of trade; and the materials are all furnished by trade, either domestic or foreign. This trade in liquors is to be distinguished into five particular heads:—

Wine.	Cider and perry.
Beer and ale.	Vinegar.
Brandy and spirits.	

The wine trade is wholly an importation, being not only the substance of a foreign product, but wholly of foreign operation.

The brandy and spirits are of a mixed original, and are partly home product, and partly foreign;

the first is the product of the grape, and the latter of the malt.

Beer and ale is wholly a home product, being brewed entirely from malt of English growth.

Cider is the like, being drawn by pressing from apples and pears, all growing in England, and principally in the south parts; there being no considerable quantity of fruit growing north by Trent.

Vinegar, as now used, is wholly of English produce, being made of malt by ebullition and fermentation.

The wine trade, though it is an importation, is a very considerable article in trade; the magnitude of it is to be calculated by the custom-house accounts, and may be seen, or rather guessed at, by the following account of the importation of all sorts of wine in the year 1721, as it stands in our custom-house books, for the port of London only.

	Pipes.
Of Portugal wines only	20,938
Of Spanish wines	14,147
Of French wines 999½ tuns, is	1,998
Of Rhenish wines 358½ tuns, is	717
	<hr/>
	37,800

Supposing one-third more to be entered in the outports;

This amounts to 12,600 pipes more:
Which added to 37,800

Total	50,400
Brandy	60,000 pipes, as well
	<hr/> entered as run.
In all	50,400 pipes of foreign liquors.

N. B. 5000 tuns of brandy is much too little.

These quantities amount to a very great value ; and, being imported in one year, show us the magnitude of the trade ; the quantity too being increased, if common fame may be believed, by some mixtures they receive here, to the scandal of the tradesmen concerned in it : and indeed the charge is made apparent on the sale of a vintner's stock, when he dies or fails ; for none of his brethren will buy it under a deduction too monstrous to be mentioned ; knowing, no doubt, how little genuine wine is in the quantity, in proportion thereto.

Again ; it is to be noted, that as this is for the city of London only, the importation of the same wines, in all the other parts of Great Britain, is exceedingly increased since that time ; and, if we may believe the common opinion, goes on increasing in a degree hardly to be guessed at.

The first value of these wines, in the countries from whence they come, is not great, in comparison to the value when they come to the pint pot, as they call it ; that is, to the retailer : but the duties of importation, the freight to the ships, the expenses attending it, the landing, the managing, houseing, carrying from place to place, cellarage, cooperage, and the like ; these put all together, making the value of this trade, reckoning it at the rate to the last consumer, come to above two millions sterling per annum. For example :—

Take the usual tavern rate of Spanish and Portugal wine to be twentypence^a per quart, this amounts to 40*l.* per pipe ; if we import sixty thousand pipes of Spanish and Portuguese wines, and of

^a It has been for some years since our author wrote, and continues still to be, two shillings per quart, instead of twentypence, which adds further strength to his argument.

brandy, in a year; these, cast up together (and, it is plain, I do not over reckon the quantity) amount to 2,400,000*l.* sterling; besides that, all the French wine, the Canary, and the brandy, are sold much dearer; but, take them together, it is an immense sum.

It is evident, that the rate of twopence per quart is the lowest price of wines, as retailed in the taverns; all the wines called Canary, Rhenish, Old Hock, Moselle, French, and Florence wines, are sold at higher rates, from two shillings to six shillings and seven shillings per quart: so that I take the estimation, upon the lowest value, of the sale of wine in England, to amount to 2,514,824*l.* 6*s.*

In like manner I rate the quantity, as appears above, much under what is every year imported; so that I cannot be taxed with a strained computation, if I insist that the value of the wines sold in Great Britain amounts to three millions per annum.

As the quantity of wine is thus great, the number of people who are employed in buying, selling, carrying, and disposing of it, is also great in proportion; and there is so just a connection between the quantity of goods in trade, and the number of tradesmen managing and carrying on the trade, that I know no better way to form an idea of one, than by an estimate of the other.

The beer and ale is the next clause in the article of liquors consumed in England; the gross quantity brewed in Great Britain is not easily calculated; because the excise is no rule to judge it by, great quantities being brewed which are not for sale, and consequently pay no excise: but as the quantity brewed for sale is only concerned in the case before us, namely, the judging of the numbers of tradesmen, that is, publichouse-keepers, employed in

the vending and disposing of it, so a guess may be made.

The numbers of alehouses and innkeepers in England are said, by ordinary computation, to be above two hundred thousand: and, indeed, I believe that calculation to be very much within compass; especially if all those taverns, who likewise sell malt liquors, are taken into the number.

The quantity of liquors these houses dispose of must be prodigious great; especially if we consider the excessive draught which some of those public-houses have; particularly in this city, and in some other towns of great concourse of people, houses on the great roads, in seaport towns, &c. and the like of distilled spirits.

But the best calculation of the quantity of drink brewed, is to be taken from the quantity of malt made; since all the malt, except a very small quantity exported, is either brewed into beer and ale, distilled into spirits, or fermented into vinegar. Now the quantity of malt is thus to be stated; the malt tax, before Scotland came in to pay their proportion, amounted one year to 660,000*l.* and it is generally now given for 600,000*l.* that is to say, to bring in so much, clear of the collection.

If then it brings in 600,000*l.* including the charge of collecting, the quantity is easily computed; for the duty being sixpence per bushel, or four shillings per quarter; the question is, how many sixpences there are in 660,000*l.* there being just forty sixpences in twenty shillings, or a pound, it is easily cast up, viz., that there are 26,400,000 sixpences; and, consequently, just so many bushels of malt made in England, before the Scots came in to pay the same tax with us. But then here is not any allowance for the establishment, as they call it, of the officers' salaries in collecting, all which is paid

out of the duty, and, consequently, so much more malt made to pay it.

The sum of the account then is, that there are 26,400,000 bushels, or 3,300,000 quarters of malt made in England in a year, besides so much as pays the officers' salaries that collect it, and incident charges, which is a very considerable article also.

It is true, they tell us there is a very great quantity of this malt distilled into spirits, and also fermented, as above, into vinegar; but of all this, I do not find they pretend to above 300,000 quarters; so that the beer and ale must be found to make up the rest, which makes the brewed part alone to be three millions of quarters.

In the strong beer brewing, they calculate ordinarily three barrels upon a quarter; so that if there are three millions of quarters brewed, it must be supposed to make nine millions of barrels of strong beer, supposing no small beer to be made; but as a very great quantity of small beer is also brewed for and by small families, the number of the whole must be prodigiously greater, though not all of strong beer. If then such an immense quantity of malt is brewed and distilled, what a prodigious number of tradesmen of all sorts must be employed in vending, that is, in retailing this beer and ale?

This leads me, of course, to inquire into the other branches of our liquid trade, which occasions also a very great business; such as,—

1. Distilling, a new trade in England, is increased to a prodigious degree, by an accident in our commerce, which was the prohibition of brandy from France. Not that our^b drinking of brandy and

^b Since our author wrote this, the inordinate use of these liquors increased so much, that it occasioned an act of parliament to be made to prevent the mischiefs arising from it.

spirits is so very much increased; but, upon the raising the price of foreign brandy, first by an absolute prohibition, and then by a duty of two-and-fifty pounds per tun upon the importation, the dearness occasioned the stop to the consumption; and this encouraged the distilling trade at home, and put the distillers upon exerting their skill to such a degree, as we see it raised to at this time; in which they are come to such perfection, that the ordinary people are now so very well satisfied with the malt spirits, and especially with their new compositions, that they do not seek French brandy in such a manner as they formerly did.

It is most certain, that in the years 1687 and 1688, when the trade with France was open, and the duty paid upon the importation of brandy was but nine pounds per tun, there was imported, and consequently consumed in this nation, from France, in one year, from nine thousand to eleven thousand tuns of brandy; a quantity, which, were it imported now, would be an expense almost equal to the common net charge of all the liquors drank in England put together, I mean, clear of excise. For example:—

Suppose the quantity, at a medium of years, to amount to ten thousand tuus in a year; and suppose this brandy to amount, in France, but to ten pounds per tun; let us see the value:

10,000 tuns, at 10 <i>l.</i> per tun, is	£100,000
Freight, at 2 <i>l.</i> per tun	- 20,000
Custom, at 50 <i>l.</i> per tun	- 500,000
	—————
	£620,000

We find, since these prohibitions, very great quantities of brandy run by the arts of clandestine

traders; but even that quantity is now much abated, except in the north parts and west parts, since the distillers have found out a way to hit the palate of the poor, by their new fashioned compound water, called Geneva; so that the common people seem not to value the French brandy as usual.

Upon the whole, it is evident to common observation, that these additions to the trade in liquors are not trifles in the inland commerce of the nation; and it is upon that foundation, and for that reason, that these calculations are made.

The cider trade may, perhaps, be thought a trifle too mean to mention here; but I shall put the tradesman in mind, that, through several counties in England, cider is, at least for many miles together, the common drink of the people; and that, even in their publichouses, there are no malt liquors sold at all, and in others but very little, as I can testify of my own knowledge, in the shires of Worcester, Gloucester, and Hereford, and the like in Devonshire and Somersetshire; from whence they tell us they ship off twenty thousand hogsheads of cider a year to London, as is mentioned above; so that cider, as a trade, is far from being inconsiderable^c.

All these articles, however trifling in themselves, become considerable in the case before us; namely, that as they pass through many hands, between the growth and the consumption, and go through some particular operations in the passage, they, by that means, are a medium of commerce, and add a very great number to the general mass of tradesmen; such as those to whom these two volumes are ad-

^c Since our author wrote, the trade of English made wines seems very much improving, and is likely to furnish still more and more strength to the argument insisted on.

dressed ; and especially to those tradesmen, who, as I said above, do not come into the class of shopkeepers, or warehouse-keepers.

I might enlarge here ; and, indeed, it would very well take up a whole chapter, to give some particular instructions to those tradesmen I call publichouse-keepers, vintners, victuallers, innkeepers, and the like ; how they should carry on their trades like men of business, and perhaps, in the end, not less to the advantage of their families, without prompting the pot and the glass, and, as the text calls it, putting the bottle to their neighbour's nose, in a gross and scandalous manner, as is generally the practice ; making themselves tempters to vice, merely for the getting twopence or threepence, or perhaps six-pence extraordinary spent in their house ; I think I need not explain myself ; the ordinary practice of those people, and the custom of their houses, describe it too plainly.

With a careful and circumspect management, how easy is it for a victualler or alehouse-keeper to establish a reputation for a quiet, calm, modest, and well-governed house ; and to found that reputation upon the foot of a just, exact, and regular conduct in the management of their business, let the nature of it be what it will.

I have seen some innkeepers, in particular, manage their business with all the exactness of right and thoroughbred tradesmen, keep their houses, their stables, their cellars, their books, all with such care, such constant application, such regular dispositions of things, one apart from another, that there has not been the least disorder about them.

Many of these have large farms upon their hands, dependent upon their inns, and some the posthouse ; and that, too, where they have had a large branch in their hands, and several by-bags and by-roads to

direct, and to keep the accounts of, yet do all with the utmost readiness, and perhaps are their own brewers at the same time.

But it must be allowed that, together with these sober, grave, and substantial tradesmen, there are abundance of scoundrel, sorry, griping, sharping fellows, who neither merit the name nor the character; and that these are embarked in destroying the morals of the nation, and the health and livelihood of the people; and to them a chapter of advice would have been very seasonable; but it is enough to tell such, they are the reproach of the employment, which, but for their ill conduct, might be as reputable as honest, and as free from vices as any other.

These people are already subjected to a necessity of taking out licenses to carry on the trade; and I am so far from thinking it a hardship upon them, that I think it absolutely necessary for the health and morals of the people that they should be so subject. I could even wish, that none but decayed housekeepers of sober characters, or widows, with families to bring up, should be licensed to keep coffee-houses, or victualling-houses, especially in the country towns and villages.

That the number should be limited in every place; and, as fast as one died, that another proper person should be put in, by authority appointed for that purpose, without regard to any thing, but age, low circumstances, and sobriety; and if taken from the family, the stock to be appraised, and sold for its benefit; and the parish to disburse the money, till it could be repaid by the trade.

This would prevent an inundation of disorderly people, young, lusty, and idle footmen, ostlers, and others, who, marrying a fellow-servant, run into a publichouse, and make it their business to debauch

all those servants and others with whom they have been acquainted, in order to promote their new trade.

Whereas a staid, sober, decayed tradesman, or matron, put into such a way, would be able, by recounting their experiences in the world, to be a sort of admonishers to the persons who used their houses, especially in a winter evening in the country; and would not put the youth of the place upon gaming, and other extravagances, in which they could not join themselves; and such houses would cease to be public nuisances, as they now frequently are, to the great disturbance of their neighbours, the damage of poor private families, the husbands of which are frequently tempted to spend their little substance in them, and to the great detriment of the public. But this being not directly to our present purpose, I shall proceed.

I have heard much of the excessive drinking among the Dutch and the Germans, and especially in the provinces of Westphalia and the Lower Saxony, where they brew great quantities of beer and mum, and have plenty of wine besides; but I believe I may venture to challenge all the world to show the like quantity of beer, and ale, and wine, and cider, and brandy, arrack, and geneva, and other strong waters, consumed in so narrow a compass of land, or among an equal number of people, as is now in this our country of England; nor is it possible there can be a like number of tradesmen employed in the management.

The city of Rostock, in the duke of Mecklenburg's country, is famous for the great quantity of beer they brew there, and export to other countries; and it is indeed the principal trade of the whole port; yet I am informed that there may be found two brewing-offices in London, which brew more

beer than all that city ; and if it is true, as I believe it is, that there are two brewers in London, who brew, each of them, a thousand barrels a week, which makes 104,000 barrels a year, I believe Rostock cannot go beyond it.

Thus we see the foundation laid, on which to estimate the number of the tradesmen in this kingdom ; and really, if all the houses that sell liquors, and entertain loose and drunken people of all kinds, are to be reckoned among the honest tradesmen, as I don't see but they must, as to number, though not value, we must allow the tradesmen to be multiplying every day. But one thing I will venture to observe, that as the nation seems to be dwindling in its legs, and arms, and head, and running out all into belly and back, it is worthy of public consideration to find out some method to promote the general circulation of every part, and to limit or set bounds to the luxury that is the occasion of all this bloated mischief. But this shall be further taken notice of in the remaining part of the work.

CHAP. L.

That trade, in many of its branches, is supported by the vices and luxury of the age. How difficult, yet necessary, to regulate this. Brief hints for promoting so worthy an end. That trade, however, makes not the vice; whence is deduced, that a remedy might be applied without hurting trade so much as some apprehend.

I might add to the victualling and drinking trade, all the several trades employed in the vanity, gaiety, and luxury of the age, which are now become such eminent branches of our commerce, that to make what we call sumptuary laws, for restraining habits, clothes, equipages, and expensive customs, would be thought, by some, one of the greatest invasions of our trade that could possibly be made, as it would oblige thousands of families to turn their hands to other businesses for their subsistence.

It is very hard, and a melancholy reflection, to think, that wickedness should have got such root in this nation, and should be so effectually fixed that it cannot be removed, but at the expense of some part of our trade, and the damage of an infinite number of people; that it is so incorporated with our felicity, that, like a limb of the body natural, an amputation would endanger the life.

It is next to incredible, what a share the luxury of the age has, in the employment of families, and in the multiplying of tradesmen in this nation, among whom, no one article they deal in may be

called a necessary to life, or even to the real comforts of it.

Of this sort are the exorbitances of dress, the excesses of eating and drinking, which are more criminal than the other, and are become so interwoven with our public advantages, that there is little hope ever to see them eradicated.

Some, even sober people, aver, that however necessary, however called for by heaven and earth, however required for the health both of soul and body, a reformation would be, yet it would be a clap of thunder to the nation; as it would immediately save above a million of money, so they urge, that it would immediately force above a million of people to seek new employments.

How many alehouses, say they, must shut up, how many bushes be taken down! what an army of drawers and tapsters, that scum of the rabble, would immediately go a begging! what regiments of gaugers and excisemen, tidewaiters and searchers, and all the mob of custom-house and excise-officers would be disbanded, and left to the highways and the gallows! and what an innumerable throng of women and children, the wretched dependents of those miserables, would come to the parish for bread!

And what, urge these gentlemen, must be done in this case? It is a dreadful story, they confess, that the prosperity of so many people is built on the ruin of the nation's morals; their excesses are the excess of their welfare; and, in a word, that we must preach no more to them sobriety, temperance, and abatement either of pride or drunkenness; for if they should reform, they are well-nigh undone; upon the giving up their souls depends the keeping up their bodies; and if you put a stop to the excesses of the age, as you lessen the revenue, so you ruin the people; in

short, say they, virtue would be really, in the very letter of it, a sinking-fund ; for it would, in a word, sink the value of many of our most important funds ; and, to add to it all, it would sink the value of lands too ; the consumption of a prodigious quantity of the barley, which is now used, would be lessened in proportion ; and the lands, which are yearly employed to produce it, be uncultivated. Thus argue, as I said, some even sober people among us. But, after all, there are not wanting those who will tell us, that England, before these excesses took place so universally, was a great and a happy nation, and might be still so, though the hands of a vast number of these traffickers in luxury were turned to more eligible employes ; that it is true, it would be a very great blow, and would be felt for some years by numberless families ; but that it would apparently better the next generation, in every respect. They urge, that we have much waste ground to improve ; that agriculture is sunk, for want of hands ; that our colonies would be much improved by the great numbers of hands that might, by some wholesome sumptuary law, be made useful to us ; that the French and Dutch greatly improve upon us in their plantations, and ours are more and more neglected ; that they people theirs with their useful hands, while few, besides felons and convicts, are transported to ours ; that the naval stores we buy from Sweden and Russia, and the iron also, might be produced here ; and that silk, cocoa, coffee, indigo, and innumerable other products of the earth, which we now purchase of other nations, might be raised in one or other of our own colonies, if we were to send abroad those industrious hands that are now employed in propagating that sort of trade which tends to corrupt our morals ; and that the surplusage of these commodities, over and above what would be

necessary for our home consumption, might be exported to other countries, who, as we improved in them, would always be ready to take them off of our hands; and so there would be no fear of finding a vend for the produce raised by these improvements.

Whatever there may be in these allegations, we shall not pretend to say; but are afraid, that the narrow notions which some gentlemen are governed by, with regard to our colonies, and the apprehensions of every improvement there turning to the disadvantage of the mother country, are likely to keep the colonies low, and prevent us from putting a stop to the luxuries and mischiefs complained of, till, perhaps, our rivals in trade will improve so much upon us in their plantations, that they will beat us out, not only of the produce, but, in time, of the colonies themselves; this would be much to be lamented; but, really, the difficulty there is to fix upon means to make so near a country as Ireland as useful to itself and Great Britain, as might be done, give us but little prospect of making the good use we might of remoter plantations.

But, to quit this subject, and resume that we were upon before, it is surprising what a swarm of gardeners, poulters, pastrycooks, &c., are supported by the mere extraordinaries of eating; raising plants by mere violence, and, as it were, a rape upon the earth; forcing her to produce things before her time, and, as it were, in spite of seasons, climates, forward or backward springs, and the most obstinate opposition of natural causes.

What rapes are committed upon nature in the production of animals as well as plants! making the ewes bring lambs all the winter, fatting calves to a monstrous size, using cruelties and contrary diets to the poor brute, to whiten its flesh for the palates of

the ladies, and to gorge the dainty stomachs of those who lay up their felicity in eating fine, as they call it! But will anybody say that most of these people might not be better and more usefully employed, for the good of the commonwealth?

It is true, there are many trades depending upon these unhappy articles, and in furnishing rarities for the nice palates of these friends to luxury; but what if we should be reduced to moderation in our diet, and to feed sparingly, by some public calamity, which, to say nothing of foreign invasions, &c., Heaven could, with but one or two extraordinary dry or wet summers, bring us to the necessity of doing? would not many tradesmen, in that case, be sufferers by it, for the present, and under a necessity of seeking a more worthy and useful employment?

Where so great a good would follow to future generations, by a reform, I think something might be done, and suffered too, though to the injury of the present now^a, and to that part of trade which is carried on to bad purposes, let it be ever so considerable a thing. To be sure, the bad consequences of not stopping the evil, greatly outweigh the other consideration; and it is certain that more of our people would die good Christians, and many of them live longer too, as well as better than they do, could these matters be regulated.

All that we have left to wish for the particular

^a This was the consideration the parliament proceeded upon, and was a consideration worthy of the British legislature, in the passing of the late law against spirituous liquors; for they regarded not a whole trade, and that a very numerous one, where the morals and health of the whole people were so visibly concerned; and in doing so gave a noble precedent, which affords us a pleasing prospect that still greater reформations may be effected, when the enormity becomes equally crying.

good of this kingdom is, that we ourselves were less corrupted by these superfluities in which we trade, and that we could be (like those quakers who deal in finery and ornament, but never wear them themselves) content to bring them home, but to re-export them to more effeminate nations, than we would have ours to be. But, as things stand, this is a vain hope ; for, in short, we see no likelihood of a reformation taking place in our days. If necessity is the mother of trade, luxury is as surely the consequence of riches and plenty ; and we are certainly arrived to such a pitch in all manner of riot and excess, that we have to apprehend the fatal effects to ourselves, that always have followed from the same causes, in the greatest and most potent empires, as those of Persia, Greece, Rome, &c., which were dissolved by their luxury. But let us leave these reflections, and after all, be allowed to make one observation in behalf of trade, as well foreign as home, and of the persons employed in it; viz., that the trade does not make the vice, but the vice makes the trade ; if the tradesmen propagate crimes in the ordinary way of their business, the fault is not in the trade, but in the man ; as in the case of drunkenness, the grape, and the malt, are not chargeable ; they are an innocent product ; no, nor are the wine, the spirits the beer or ale, guilty ; it is the excess, it is drinking them extravagantly, taking an unreasonable quantity, loitering away an unreasonable deal of time, spending their money, and starving their families ; these are the vices.

Again ; trade, take it in the first person of the tradesman, does not introduce the luxury and extravagance of the people ; nor their exorbitant expense in fine clothes, or fine equipages, their pride and ostentation in either or any of these ; but the vice is in the breast of the vicious : the pride is in

the inside of the beau, while his embroideries, his laces, his fine clothes, only flutter in the wind from the outside of his carcass. Now the tradesman indeed takes the advantage of the fop, and puts in to furnish him with gaieties and fine feathers ; but the tradesman does not bid him turn peacock, and strut about to show and spread his plumes.

The man is a fool, or fop, or beau, the terms are synonymous ; he comes to the tradesman's shop, he buys one toy here, another trifle there ; he calls for silver buttons in one place, fine brocade, or cloth of gold, in another ; here he sets an embroiderer to work, there a lacemaker ; he directs one to make this, another that ; in a word, he scatters his money about as a farmer makes hay ; and when all these things are brought together, as Aaron cast the earrings into the fire, and out came a calf ; so the tailor is sent for, and all the apparatus of his pride being thrown into his hands, out comes the piebald party-coloured beau, completely cooked up, and dressed as gay as a merryandrew.

All this while it is not the monkey that plays the man, but it is the man that plays the monkey ; it is not the merryandrew that acts the mountebank, it is the mountebank that acts the merryandrew ; but still trade is in the right of it to take their money, as it employs a great number of people ; and thus it frequently appears that the extravagant pride of the age feeds trade, and, consequently, the poor.

And what would be the case if it was not thus, and there were to be no public prohibitions ? The alternative is unhappily come upon us ; we must either sell them fine clothes, or they will buy abroad, which is quite contrary to the reason of trade ; if fine silks, rich brocades, velvets, &c., are not to be had here, the beau and the fine lady will send to

France for them ; nay, they will go to France to fetch them, rather than want them.

I will mention three or four other articles, which seem to me to cry aloud for the regulation of a sumptuary law, or some other good expedient.

The first is, that of the peruke-makers, of whom, including barbers, it is said there are not less than 30,000 in the city and suburbs, principally occasioned by that one excess of wearing perukes, a thing little known in England fifty, and not at all eighty years ago.

2. The great increase of pastrycooks' shops, entirely built upon the luxury of the present age, and who have thrust out better and more useful trades.

3. Undertakers for funerals, and the usage of burying with coaches, though the party lies dead but two doors off from the church ; with all the frightful gewgaws of funeral pomp, and the growing extravagancies of new customs in funerals ; how wonderful a foppery ! And how are families become slaves to what the undertakers please to call the fashion in dressing both the living and the dead !

4. The universal custom of wearing excessive fine linen ; not a shopkeeper, not a drawer at a tavern, not a barber, not hardly a barber's prentice, but must have a shirt of fine holland of five or six shillings per ell ; and the ordinary beaus run it up to ten or twelve shillings an ell. Their grandfathers perhaps as clean, though not so gay, contented themselves with good holland of less than half the price, and with shifting their linen perhaps twice a week ; to correct which, our nicer gentleman have brought it to two clean shirts a day ; we may suppose their uncleaner bodies require it more than those of their ancestors did.

These are some of the modest articles which in-

crease trade; and as to the latter article, we must observe, that though England makes no linen of value, yet it wears more fine linen, than not only the country where it is made, and where it is so much cheaper than it can be here, but even than in any other country in Europe. The quantity of these linens imported is so great, that in Flanders only, they tell us, the Flemings (besides what the Hollanders do)^b trade with us with their cambrics, and other sorts of fine linens, above 100,000*l.* a year, to our loss in the balance of trade.

Who sees not, from what has been said, that this national pride might be reduced by a good sumptuary law, restraining the wearing of what we have mentioned, as also of embroidery, silver and gold trimmings, high-priced laces, and the like, and contenting ourselves to be only the manufacturers, or exporters, of these things, to other nations?

I know it may be said, that, with regard to embroidery, and silver and gold lace, the French, who are a people, by genius, fitted for outward show, greatly outdo us. But we may aver, without complimenting the genius of our own country, that, supposing it true, which some however among us will dispute, no nation under the sun improve in any art like the English, wherever they meet with encouragement; witness our glass manufacture, which beats that of Venice, and many others that might be named; but with regard to these gaudy trifles, let the French outdo us if they would, and wear the tinsel ornaments when they have done,

^b Since our author wrote, the Irish and Scottish linen manufacturers are so greatly improved, and we hope will be more and more encouraged, that we may expect to turn a great part of balance to the benefit of our own fellow-subjects of those nations.

provided we were restrained from wearing them ourselves; we have other more wealthy and useful employments for such of our hands as might be diverted from that part; and should have no reason to dispute what regarded mere appearance with them.

Upon the whole, I will venture to assert, that, as the evil lies more in the minds of the people than in the trade, the grievances complained of might be remedied, at least in part, with greater ease, and less detriment to trade, than some may apprehend, by a good sumptuary law; for it is certain, that trade, in a great measure, is attendant upon the humours of the gentry, and their imitation; and were those humours properly directed and prescribed to, trade would of course fall into other channels; whereas, if luxury of any sort be promoted by depraved custom, or prevailing fashion; what at first found but few dealers, soon multiplies prodigiously; and every tradesman quits the obsolete business, to fall into the fashionable one. This we might prove by innumerable instances; and abundantly shows, as we hinted above, that proper laws might do good by restraining excesses in any particular way, and directing to a proper point the public taste of the nation, on great and important occasions, worthy of the consideration of the legislature.

CHAP. LI.

The alteration which the humour of people, and their luxury, have given to several trading places in London. Whether our national trade is not past its meridian, and does not begin to decline. The conclusion, exhorting to sobriety, to a necessary frugality, and to a preference which all persons, especially people in trade, should give to our own manufactures.

It cannot be foreign to our purpose, nor unpleasing to our readers, to observe, before we conclude this work, the turn which the luxury and humour of people have given to trade, and to trading places in London ; and we shall therefore lightly touch upon this subject ; and the rather, because we have the vanity to imagine, that there are not many better qualified, by years and experience, to make the requisite observations on this head ; and because we think several useful inferences may be drawn from it.

Let any man, whose years and strength of head will allow it, look back, and recollect how things stood in London about fifty years ago, with respect to some particular trades, and compare it with what it is now ; and he will be struck with surprise at the changes made in the time.

The mercers, particularly, were few in number, but great dealers ; Paternoster-row was the centre of their trade ; the street was built for them ; the spacious shops, back-warehouses, skylights, and

other conveniences, made on purpose for their trade, are still to be seen; and their stocks were prodigiously great.

The street was wont to be thronged with customers; the coaches were obliged to stand in two rows, one side to go in, the other to go out, for there was no turning a coach in it; and the mercers kept two beadles to keep the order of the street; about fifty principal shops took up the whole; the rest were dependents upon that trade, as about the middle of Ivy-lane, the lacemen; about the end of the street next Cheapside, the button-shops; and near at hand in Blow-bladder-street, the crewel-shops, silkmen, and fringe-shops.

They held it there, in this figure, about twenty years after the fire; and even in that time, the number increasing as the gay humour came on, we saw outlying mercers set up about Aldgate, the east end of Lombard-street, and Covent-garden; in a few years more, Covent-garden began to get a name, and at length, by degrees, intercepted the quality so much, the streets also being large and commodious for coaches, that the court came no more into the city to buy clothes; on the contrary, the citizens ran to the east and west; Paternoster-row began to be deserted and abandoned of its trade; and, in less than two years, the mercers had well nigh forsook the place, to follow the trade, seeing the trade would not follow them; as at sea, if the shoals of fish shift their usual station, the fishermen follow the fish.

The Paternoster-row mercers, as I remember, went all away to Covent-garden; and there, for some years, was the centre of trade; reserving some still within Aldgate, and at the corners of Lombard and Fenchurch-street, and within Lombard-street, as far as to Clement's-lane end; and in the lane

the button-makers, who followed likewise from Paternoster-row.

Within about ten years more the trade shifted again ; Covent-garden began to decline, and the mercers, increasing prodigiously, went back into the city ; there, like bees unhived, they hovered about awhile, not knowing where to fix ; but at last, as if they would come back to the old hive in Paternoster-row, but could not be admitted, the swarm settled on Ludgate-hill.

How they are increased there, how they spread themselves within the gate, as well as without, and take up both sides of the way from Fleet bridge almost to St. Paul's, except such houses as could not be had ; how they are spread in lesser swarms, and settled in other places, as at Round-court, Fenchurch-street, and Houndsditch, this I need not mention.

This change of the face of the trade, and increase of the number of mercers, I do not take to infer a proportioned increase of the trade ; though the trade is certainly increased too, as the numbers, and pride, and wealth, of the people are increased ; but not, I say, in proportion to the numbers of mercers, whose numbers, instead of about fifty to sixty, which they were in the year 1663, may now be called about three or four hundred.

This will the better appear, when I shall tell you that there has not been the like number of bankrupts of any trade in the whole city of London, as of the mercers, for these forty years past ; and that as I am informed, there is hardly a mercer's shop on all Ludgate-hill, and Ludgate-street, out of which there has not one mercer, or more, broke, since the swarm, as I said, first settled there ; whereas in Paternoster-row they grew rich, and very seldom any failed or miscarried.

But to go on with my view of the face of trade in

the city, since the mercers removed from Pater-noster-row as above; we have seen almost all the collections of tradesmen, who appeared in whole streets before, separated and dispersed, except the shoemakers; and even those are not so congregated in rows, as formerly. For example;—

How are the great woollen-drapers separated from St. Paul's churchyard, the salesmen from Birch-in-lane, the wholesale upholsters on the south-side of Cornhill, the bankers in Lombard-street, the cake-shops in Wood-street, even the butchers in Great and Little Eastcheap, almost all dispersed and gone. We see Paul's churchyard filled with cane chairmakers on one side; Cornhill with the meanest of trades, such as coffeehouses, peruke-makers, pattern-shops, and pastrycooks; even Cheapside itself, formerly famous for capital traders, and the most flourishing wholesale dealers, as well as shopkeepers, how do we see it now filled up with shoemakers, milliners, toy-shops, and pastrycooks? And had not the linen-drapers, whose business also, as well as numbers, is monstrously increased, taken that street, it had been all dwindled into peddling and petty trade.

The like turn appears in the two great centres of the women merchants; I mean the Exchange shops, particularly at the Royal Exchange and the New Exchange in the Strand; both these we saw full of flourishing shops of the millinery kind; but now we see all the upper part of the New Exchange turned into a looking-glass warehouse^c; the several divisions of the Royal Exchange turned into offices of assurance, rooms for public sales, and the like; and the millinery trade separated into innumerable

^c And that since dwindled away, and the whole Exchange, in a manner, with it.

little commode-shops, head-dressers, and such-like people, yet taking shops in the most public parts of the city.

Now to observe whence all this squandering of the tradesmen proceeded, it is evident it came from the increase of the gaiety and profuse humour, which I call the luxury, of the times. As this temper of the people increased, and the numbers also of the people thronging to the city made a more than common increase of customers, by the same rule, the numbers of these trades likewise increased, and became too great for the several places where they were formerly, as it may be said, confined.

Hence the wholesale drapers formerly centered in Cornhill, and among the wholesale country dealers in Bread-street and Friday-street, are spread so extremely, that the north side of Cheap-side seems to be one great row of drapers' shops, the bankers spread from Lombard-street to Temple-bar, and then to Charing-cross, and so of the rest.

Again; the same flourishing of pride has dictated new methods of living to the people; and while the poorest citizens strive to live like the rich, the rich like the gentry, the gentry like the nobility, and the nobility striving to outshine one another, no wonder that all the sumptuary trades increase; that instead of ten or twelve coachmakers in the city, and not quite so many at the other end of the town, we have the company of coachmakers incorporated, and whole streets of them set up together, as in Longacre, Great Queen-street, Little Queen-street, Cow-lane, Bishopsgate-street, Aldersgate-street, &c.

There is also a surprising increase of peruke-makers, who are dispersed and scattered about as well the great streets as the small, and take

up the places which useful traders formerly occupied.

The increase of undertakers ; the extravagant articles of which their business consists ; the inordinate expenses attending fine linen, worn even by common traders, and their very servants ; the fine laces, hollands, cambrics, &c., which we import from abroad at a very great disadvantage in trade, all make strong articles against us in our trading affairs ; but these we have touched upon more amply in our preceding chapter.

And here let us briefly enter upon an useful inquiry with relation to this mighty article called trade in England ; whether, as our vices seem to be come to a height, nay, I might say to the highest, to the furthest extreme that it is possible they can be brought to ; whether our trade is not at its meridian also ? I must own I think it is, and that, as in all cases of such a nature, things decline when they are at their extremes, so trade not only must decline, but does already sensibly decline.

Our manufactures decline, which is to our trade as bread is to the body, the staff of their life ; the nations round us begin to taste the sweetness of it, to see how we are enriched by it ; and they not only envy us, but imitate us, and set their inventions upon the rack to supply their demands by their own labour, and so keep their money at home, which otherwise must come to England to purchase our manufactures.

The consequence is, that the English woollen manufactures are prohibited in many parts of Europe, and those prohibitions increase every day ; France, Holland, Russia, Prussia, Brandenburgh, Sweden, Denmark, Saxony, Switzerland, Austria, Bohemia, Piedmont, all have set up manufactures of their own ; and France and Switzerland not only

supply their own people, but are able to export large quantities for the use of other nations, and already boldly supplant us at the best markets abroad.

If this be our case, as I believe it is too apparent to all those who either are concerned in or for, or otherwise understand our trade, this is a natural conclusion, and for which indeed I name it; viz., that as the rising and increase of our manufactures have raised the wealth and pride of this nation to the height which we at this time see it arrived to, the decay of those manufactures will of course cause that wealth to decay also; whether our pride will abate with it or no, is another point; but this leads me to a natural conclusion to the Complete Tradesman, to whom I have all along directed myself, and with which I shall close the whole work.

THE CONCLUSION.

LET all the tradesmen, then, and the dependents upon trade in England, consider the infinite moment it is to them in commerce, to promote, encourage, and support the inland or home trade of this nation, by which they are themselves all supported, and their poor maintained ; and, in a word, by which all the branches of our commerce are brought to the present immense greatness in which they now appear, and of which so much has been said ; and that I may not be thought to be preaching religion here, instead of trade, I shall explain myself in a few articles.

I make no doubt but that notwithstanding all that has been said of our vice propagating our commerce, yet our trade might be supported, our tradesmen be kept employed, and their shops still be opened, though a time of reformation were to come, which I doubt is but too far off.

Perhaps it would at first give a turn to the present situation of home trade ; and there might be some little shock given to our sumptuary employments, and to those shops and shambles of vice, the victualling and liquor trades ; but God forbid that we should be understood to prompt the excesses of the age, in order to preserve and increase that particular branch of commerce.

I doubt not to show the world that we are not obliged to run into extremes and extravagancies in dress, to promote the silk manufactures ; to have our poor people turn sots and drunkards to promote

the malt and brewing trade, or the rich to support the wine trade ; and so of other madnesses, which are the present grievances of the times.

The silk manufacture, as it is now improved and made our own, is a very great help, as well to the home trade as the foreign, and especially is a timely relief to us, in the present evident decay of our woollen, which I call our national manufacture ; and it is not only necessary to us in trade, but it is so in itself also ; nor is it to be all charged to the account of our vice or our pride ; we may be as proud and as vain, and as gay, as luxurious, and as vicious in our woollen manufacture as in our silk ; and I doubt we are so.

The silk is ordinarily the wear and dress of the ladies ; and I am not willing to be so unjust as to lay all the pride at their doors ; I doubt there is not so much odds between the sexes as to crime, but that if they were all joined in our account of public follies, they would have little reason to complain of partiality ; but this is what I think may be insisted on ; a reformation might affect trade in many particular things, but need not overthrow and destroy it in general.

The silk manufacture might be very considerable in England, although the ladies should be a little more modestly dressed ; although they were a little less curious, less extravagant, less exotic, and abated a little of their excesses.

The wine trade would still be very considerable though the gentlemen abated their immoderate drinking, and went home now and then a little sooner, and a little soberer.

The malt and brewing trades, the distilling spirits, and the importation of brandy, might be still very great articles in our trade, and altogether be very great supports to the public revenue and to the

own manufactures, and as if they were willing to see our own people starve, and their own families detrimented rather than encourage them by wearing the very goods they sell.

I will only further add, that while we practise this, we ought never more to complain of or wonder at the decay of our trade.

AN HUMBLE PROPOSAL
TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND
FOR THE
INCREASE OF THEIR TRADE,
AND
ENCOURAGEMENT OF THEIR MANUFACTURES.

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For the Increase of their

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And Encouragement of their

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Whether

The present uncertainty of Affairs

issues in

Peace or War.

By the Author of the COMPLETE TRADESMAN.

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PREFACE

TO THE

PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.



IT deserves some notice, that just at, or soon after writing these sheets, we have an old dispute warmly revived among us, upon the question of our trade being declined, or not declined. I have nothing to do with the parties, nor with the reason of their strife upon that subject ; I think they are wrong on both sides, and yet it is hardly worth while to set them to rights, their quarrel being quite of another nature, and the good of our trade little or nothing concerned in it.

Nor do they seem to desire to be set right, but rather to want an occasion to keep up a strife which perhaps serves some other of their wicked purposes,

better than peace would do ; and indeed, those who seek to quarrel, who can reconcile ?

I meddle not with the question, I say, whether trade be declined or not ; but I may easily show the people of England, that if they please to concern themselves a little for its prosperity, it will prosper ; and on the contrary, if they will sink it and discourage it, it is evidently in their power, and it will sink and decline accordingly.

You have here some popular mistakes with respect to our woollen manufacture fairly stated, our national indolence in that very particular reprobated, and the consequence laid before you ; if you will not make use of the hints here given, the fault is nobody's but your own.

Never had any nation the power of improving their trade, and of advancing their own manufactures, so entirely in their own hands as we have at this time, and have had for many years past, without troubling the legislature about it at all : and though it is of the last importance to the whole nation, and, I may say, to almost every individual in it ; nay, and that it is evident you all know it to be so ; yet how next to impossible is it to persuade any one person to set a foot forward towards so

great and so good a work ; and how much labour has been spent in vain to rouse us up to it ?

The following sheets are as one alarm more given to the lethargic age, if possible, to open their eyes to their own prosperity ; the author sums up his introduction to it in this short positive assertion, which he is ready to make good, viz., That if the trade of England is not in a flourishing and thriving condition, the fault and only occasion of it is all our own, and is wholly in our own power to mend, whenever we please.

SEASONABLE PROPOSAL, &c.

As by my title I profess to be addressing myself to Englishmen, I think I need not tell them that they live by trade; that their commerce has raised them from what they were to what they are, and may, if cultivated and improved, raise them yet further to what they never were; and this in few words is an index of my present work.

It is worth an Englishman's remark, that we were esteemed as a growing thriving nation in trade as far back as in the reigns of the two last Henries; manufactures were planted, navigation increased, the people began to apply, and trade bringing in wealth, they were greatly encouraged; yet in king Henry VIII.'s reign, and even towards the latter end of it, too, we find several acts of parliament passed for regulating the price of provisions, and particularly that beef and pork should not be sold in the market for more than a halfpenny per pound avoirdupoise, and mutton and veal at three farthings.

As the trading men to whom I write may make some estimate of things by calculating one thing by another, so this leads them to other heads of trade to calculate from; as, first, the value of money, which bore some proportion, though I think not a full and just equality to the provisions, as follows:— silver was at 2*s.* 4*d.* per ounce, and gold at 2*l.* 5*s.* to 2*l.* 10*s.* per ounce; something less in the silver, and more in the gold than half of the present value.

As for the rate of lands and houses, they bore a yet greater distance in value from what they produce now; so that indeed it bears no proportion, for we find the rent of lands so raised, and their value so improved, that there are many examples where the lands, valued even in queen Elizabeth's days at 20*l.* to 25*l.* per annum, are now worth from 200*l.* to 300*l.* per annum, and in some places much more.

It is true, this advance is to be accounted for by the improvement made of the soil, by manuring, cultivating, and enclosing; by stocks of cattle, by labour, and by the arts of husbandry, which are also improved; and so this part is not so immediately within my present design; it is a large subject, and merits to be spoken of at large by itself; because as the improvement of land has been extraordinary great, and the landed interest is prodigiously increased by it, so it is capable of much more and greater improvement than has been made for above a hundred years past. But this I say is not my present design; it is too great an article to be couched in a few words.

Yet it requires this notice here; viz., that trade has been a principal agent even in the improvement of our land; as it has furnished the money to the husbandman to stock his land, and to employ ser-

vants and labourers in the working part; and as it has found him a market for the consumption of the produce of his land, and at an advanced price too, by which he has received a good return to enable him to go on.

The short inference from these premises is this: as by trade the whole kingdom is thus advanced in wealth, and the value of lands, and of the produce of lands, and of labour, is so remarkably increased, why should we not go on with vigour and spirit in trade, and by all proper and possible methods and endeavours, increase and cultivate our commerce; that we may still increase and improve in wealth, in value of lands, in stock, and in all the arts of trade, such as manufactures, navigation, fishery, husbandry, and, in short, study an improvement of trade in all its branches.

No doubt it would be our wisdom to do thus; and nothing of the kind can be more surprising than that it should not be our practice; and thus I am brought down to the case before me.

If it should be objected that the remark is needless, that we are an industrious and laborious people, that we are the best manufacturers in the world, thoroughly versed in all the methods and arts for that purpose; and that our trade is improved to the utmost in all places, and all cases possible; if it should, I say, be thus argued, for I know some have such a taint of our national vanity that they do talk at this rate,—

My answer is short, and direct in the negative; and I do affirm that we are not that industrious, applying, improving people that we pretend to be, and that we ought to be, and might be. That we are the best manufacturers I deny; and yet at the same time I grant that we make the best manufactures in the world; but the reason of that is greatly

owing not to our own skill exceeding others, so much as to our being furnished from the bounty of Heaven with the best materials and best conveniences for the work, of any nation in the world, of I which I shall take notice in its place.

But not to dwell upon our capacities for improving in trade, I might clear all that part without giving up the least article of my complaint; for it is not our capacity to improve that I call in question, but our application to the right methods; nay, I must add, that while I call upon your diligence, and press you to application, I am supposed to grant your capacities; otherwise I was calling upon you to no purpose, and pressing you to do what at the same time I allowed you had no power to perform.

Without complimenting your national vanity, therefore, I am to grant you have not only the means of improvement in your hands, but the capacity of improving also; and on this account I must add, are the more inexcusable if the thing is not in practice.

Indeed it is something wonderful, and not easy to be accounted for, that a whole nation should, as if they were in a lethargic dream, shut their eyes to the apparent advantages of their commerce; and this just now, when their circumstances seem so evidently to stand in need of encouragement, and that they are more than ordinarily at a kind of stop in their usual progression of trade.

It is debated much among men of business, whether trade is at this time in a prosperous and thriving condition, or in a languishing and declining state; or, in a word, whether we are going backwards or forward. I shall not meddle with that debate here, having no occasion to take up the little space allowed me in anything remote from my design. But I will propose it as I really believe it to be:

namely, that we are rather in a state of balance between both, a middle between the extremes ; I hope we are not much declined, and I fear we are not much advanced. But I must add, that if we do not immediately set about some new methods for altering this depending condition, we shall soon decline ; and on the contrary, if we should exert ourselves, we have before us infinite advantages of improving and advancing our commerce, and that to a great degree.

This is stating it to the meanest understanding ; there is no mystery at all in the thing ; if you will apply, you will rise ; if you will remain indolent and inactive, you will sink and starve. Trade in England, at this time, is like a ship at sea, that has sprung a leak in sight of the shore, or within a few days' sail of it ; if the crew will ply their pump and work hard, they may not only keep her above water, but will bring her safe into port ; whereas if they neglect the pump, or do not exert their strength, the water grows upon them and they are in apparent danger of sinking before they reach the shore.

Or, if you will have a coarser comparison, take the pump room in the rasp-house, or house of correction, at Amsterdam ; where the slothful person is put into a good, dry, and wholesome room, with a pump at one side and a spring or water-pipe at the other ; if he pleases to work, he may live and keep the water down, but if he sleeps he drowns.

The moral is exactly the same in both cases, and suits with the present circumstances of our trade in England most exactly, only with this difference to the advantage of the latter ; namely, that the application which I call upon the people of England to exert themselves in, is not a mere labour of the hand ; I do not tax the poor with mere sloth and negligence, idly lying still when they should work, that is not our grievance at present ; for though

there may be too much of that sort too, among a few of the drunken, loitering part of mankind, and they suffer for it sufficiently in their poverty, yet that, I say, is not the point, idleness is not here a national crime, the English are not naturally a slothful, indolent, or lazy people.

But it is an application proper to the method of business which is wanting among us, and in this we shall find room for reproof on one hand, and direction on the other; and our reader, I dare say, will acknowledge there is reason for both.

It must in the first place be acknowledged, that England has indeed the greatest encouragement for their industry of any nation in Europe; and as therefore their want of improving those advantages and encouragements, lays them more open to our just reproof, than other nation's would be, or can be who want them, so it moves me with the more importunity to press home the argument, which reason and the nature of the thing furnishes, to persuade them. Reason dictates that no occasion should be let slip by which England above all nations in the world should improve the advantages they have in their hands; not only because they have them, but because their people so universally depend upon them. The manufactures are their bread, the life, the comfort of their poor, and the soul of their trade; nature dictates, that as they are given them to improve, and that by industry and application they are capable of being improved; so they ought to starve if they do not improve them to the utmost.

Let us see in a few words what nature and providence has done for us; nay, what they have done for us exclusive of the rest of the world. The bounty of Heaven has stored us with the principles of commerce, fruitful of a vast variety of things essential to trade, and which call upon us as it were

in the voice of nature, bidding us work, and with annexed encouragement to do so from the visible apparent success of industry. Here the voice of the world is plain, like the answer of an oracle; thus, dig and find, plough and reap, fish and take, spin and live; in a word, trade and thrive; and this with such extraordinary circumstances, that it is as if there was a bar upon the neighbouring nations, and it had been spoken from Heaven thus: These are for you only, and not for any other nation; you, my favourites, of England; you, singled out to be great, opulent, powerful, above all your neighbours, and to be made so by your own industry and my bounty.

To explain this, allow me a small digression, to run over the detail of Heaven's bounty, and see what God and nature has done for us beyond what it has done for other nations; nature, as I have said, will dictate to us what Heaven expects from us, for the improving the blessings bestowed, and for making ourselves that rich and powerful people which he has determined us to be.

Our country is furnished, I say, with the principles of commerce in a very extraordinary manner; that is to say, so as no other country in Europe, or perhaps in the world, is supplied with.

I. With the product of the earth. This is of two kinds: 1. That of the inside or bowels of the earth, the same of which, as above, the voice of Heaven to us, is, dig and find, under which article is principally our lead, and tin-coal; I name these only, because of these this island seems to have an exclusive grant; there being none, or but very small quantities of them, found in any other nation; and it is upon exclusive benefits that I am chiefly speaking. 2. We have besides these, iron, copper, *lapis calaminaris*, vulgarly called callamy, with several other minerals, which may be said to be in common

to us and the rest of the world, of which the particulars at large, and the places where they are found, may be fully seen in a late tract, of which I shall have frequently occasion to speak in this work, entitled, A Plan of the Commerce of Great Britain, to which I refer, as indeed to a general index of the trade and produce of this whole island.

II. The product of the surface, which I include in that part, plough and reap ; and though this is not indeed an exclusive product, yet I may observe that the extraordinary increase which our lands, under an excellent cultivation, generally yield, as well in corn and cattle, is an uncommon argument for the industry of the husbandmen ; and I might enter into a comparison with advantage, against almost any countries in Europe, by comparing the quantity produced on both sides, with the quantity of land which produce those quantities.

You may find some calculations of the produce of our own country in the book above mentioned, viz., The Plan of the Commerce of Great Britain, where the consumption of malt in England is calculated by the value of the duties of excise, and where it appears that there is annually consumed in England, besides what is exported to foreign countries, forty millions of bushels of malt, besides also all the barley, the meal of which is made into bread, which is a very great quantity ; most of the northern counties in England feeding very much upon barley bread ; and besides all the barley either exported or used at home in the corn unmalted ; all which put together, I am assured, amounts to no less than ten millions of bushels more.

The quantity of barley only is so exceeding great, that I am told it bears, in proportion to the land it grows on, an equality to as much land in France, as all the sowed land in the whole kingdom of Eng-

land ; or take it thus, that fifty millions of bushels of barley growing in France, would take up as much ground as all the lands which are at any time sowed in England with any corn, whether barley, oats, or wheat.

N. B. I do not say all the arable lands of England, because we know there are a very great number of acres of land which every year lie fallow (though in tillage) and unsowed, according to the usage of our husbandry ; so they cannot be reckoned to produce any corn at all, otherwise the quantity might be much greater.

This is a testimony of the fertility of our soil ; and on the other hand, the fertility is a testimony of the diligence and application of our people, and the success which attends that diligence.

We are told that in some parts of England, especially in the counties of Essex, Hertford, Cambridge, Bedford, Bucks, Oxford, Northampton, Lincoln, and Nottingham, it is very frequent to have the lands produce from seven to ten quarters of barley upon an acre, which is a produce not heard of in the most fruitful of all those we call corn countries abroad, much less in France. On the contrary, if they have a great produce of corn, it is because they have a vast extent of land for it to grow upon, and which land they either have no other use for, or it may be is fit for no other use ; whereas our corn grounds are far from being the richest or the best of our lands, the prime of our land being laid up, as the ploughmen call it, to feed upon, that is, to keep dairies of cows, as in Essex, Suffolk, and the fens ; or for grazing grounds, for fatting the large mutton and beef, for which England is so particularly famed. These grazing countries are chiefly in Sussex, and in the marshes of Romney, and other parts in Kent ; also in the rich

vales of Aylesbury, and others in Bucks and Berkshire, the isle of Ely, the bank of Trent, the counties of Lincoln, Leicester and Stafford, Warwick and Chester, as also in the county of Somerset, Lancaster, north riding of Yorkshire, and bank of Tees, in the bishoprick of Durham.

When this product of England is considered, the diligence and success of our husbandry in England will be found to be beyond that of the most industrious people in Europe. But I must not dwell here, my view lies another way; nor do the people of England want so much to be called upon to improve in husbandry, as they do in manufactures and other things; not but that even in this, the lands not yet cultivated do call aloud upon us too; but I say it is not the present case.

I come in the next article to that yet louder call of the oracle, as above, namely, fish and take. Indeed this is an improvement not fully preserved, or a produce not sufficiently improved; the advantages nature offers here cannot be said to be fully accepted of and embraced.

This is a large field, and much remains to be said and done too in it, for the increase of wealth, and the employment of our people; and though I am not of the opinion which some have carried to an unaccountable length in this case, viz., that we should set up the fishery by companies and societies, which has been often attempted, and has proved abortive and ill-grounded; or that we ought by force, or are able by all our advantages to beat out the Dutch from it; yet we might certainly very much enlarge and increase our own share in it; take greater quantities than we do; cure and pack them better than we do; come sooner to market with them than we do; and consume greater quantities at home than we do; the consequence of

which would be that we should breed up and employ more seamen, build and fit out more fishing-vessels and ships for merchandise than we do now, and which we are unaccountably blameable that we do not.

And here I must observe, that the increasing the fishery would even contribute to our vending as well as catching a greater quantity of fish, and to take off the disadvantage which we now lie under with the Dutch, by the consequence of trade in the fishery itself. The case is this: the chief market for white herring, which is the fishery I am speaking of, is the port of Dantzic and Konigsberg, from which ports the whole kingdom of Poland, and great duchy of Lithuania, are supplied with fish by the navigation of the great river of the Vistula, and the smaller rivers of the Pragel and Niemen, &c.

The return brought from thence is in canvass, oak, and spruce, plank and timber, sturgeon, some hemp and flax, pot ashes, &c., but chiefly corn.

Here the Dutch have an infinite advantage of us, which is never to be surmounted or overcome, and for which reason it is impossible for us ever to beat them out of this trade; viz., the Dutch send yearly a very great number of ships to Dantzic, &c., to fetch corn; some say they send a thousand sail every year; and I believe they do send so many ships, or those ships going so many times, or making so many voyages in the year as amounts to the same number of freights, and so is the same thing.

All these ships going for corn for the Dutch, have their chief supply of corn from that country; it follows, then, that their herrings are carried for nothing, seeing the ships which carry them must go light if they did not carry the fish; whereas, on the other hand, our fish must pay freight in whatever vessel it may go.

When our ships, then, from Scotland, for there the fishery chiefly lies, and from thence the trade must take its rise; I say, when they have carried their fish to the ports above-named, of Dantzic and Konigsberg, how must they come back, and with what shall they be loaded?

The only answer that can be given is, that they must bring back the goods mentioned before, or, in shorter terms, naval stores, though indeed not much of naval stores neither, except timber and plank, for the hemp and tar, which are the main articles, are fetched further; viz., from Riga, Revel, Narva, and Petersburg. But suppose after delivering their fish, some of the ships should go to those ports to seek freight, and load naval stores there, which is the utmost help in the trade that can be expected.

The next question is, whither shall they carry them, and for whose account shall they be loaden? To go for Scotland, would not be an answer; for Scotland, having but a few ships, could not take off any quantity proportioned to such a commerce; for if we were to push the Dutch out of the trade, we must be supposed to employ two or three hundred sail of ships at least, to carry herrings to Dantzic, &c.

To say they might take freight at London, and load for England, would be no answer neither; for besides that even England itself would not take off a quantity of those goods equal to the number of ships which would want freight, so if England did, yet those ships would still have one dead freight, for they would be left to go light home at last, to Scotland, otherwise how shall they be at hand to load next year? And even that one dead freight would abate the profit of the voyage; and so still the Dutch would have the advantage.

Upon the whole, take it how and which way we will, it will for ever be true, that though our fish

were every way equal to the Dutch, which yet we cannot affirm, and though it came as soon to market, and carried as good a price there, all which I fear must a little fall short, yet it would still be true that the Dutch would gain and we should lose.

There is yet another addition to the advantage of Holland, viz., in the return of money ; that whereas when our fish shall be sold, we shall want to remit back the produce in money ; that is to say, so much of it as cannot be brought back in goods. And the difference in the exchange must be against us ; but it is in favour of the Dutch ; for if they did not send their herrings and other fish to Dantzic, they must remit money to pay for their corn ; and even as it is, they are obliged to send other goods, such as whale oil, the produce of their Greenland fishery, English manufactures, and the like ; whereas the Scots' merchants, having no market for corn, and not a demand for a sufficient value in naval stores, &c., viz. the product of the country, must bring the overplus by exchange to their loss, the exchange running the other way.

It is true, this is a digression ; but it is needful to show how weak those notions are, which prompt us to believe we are able to beat the Dutch out of the fishing trade by increasing our number of busses, and taking a larger quantity of fish.

But this brings me back to the first argument ; if you can find a way to enlarge your shipping in the fishery, and send greater quantities of fish to market, and yet sell them to advantage, you would by consequence enlarge your demand for naval stores, and so be able to bring more ships home loaden from thence ; that is to say, to dispose of more of their freight at home ; and indeed nothing else can do it.

N. B. This very difference in the trade is the reason why a greater quantity of English manufactures are not sent from hence to Dantzic, as was formerly done; viz., not that the consumption of those goods is lessened in Poland, or that less woollen manufactures are demanded at Dantzic or at Konigsberg; but it is that the Dutch carry our manufactures from their own country; this they can do to advantage; besides their costing nothing freight, as above, though they are sold to little or no profit, because they want the value there to pay for their corn, and must otherwise remit money to loss for the payment.

As these things are not touched at before in any discourses on this subject, but we are daily filled with clamours and complaints at the indolence and negligence of our Scots and northern Britons, for not outworking the Dutch in their fishing trade, I think it is not foreign to the purpose to have thus stated the case, and to have shown that it is not indeed a neglect in our management, that the Dutch thrive in the fishing trade, and we sit still, as they call it, and look on, which really is not so in fact, but that the nature of the thing gives the advantage to the Dutch, and throws the trade into their hands, in a manner that no industry or application of ours could or can prevent.

Having thus vindicated our people where they are really not deserving blame, let us look forward from hence and see with the same justice where they are in another case likewise less to blame than is generally imagined; namely, in the white fishing, or the taking of cod-fish in these northern seas, which is also represented as if it was so plentiful of fish that any quantity might be taken and cured, and so the French, the Scots, and the Portuguese, might be supplied from hence much cheaper and more to

advantage than by going so long a voyage as to the banks of Newfoundland.

This also is a mistake, and the contrary is evident; that there is a good white fishing upon the coast, as well of the north part of the British coast as on the east side of Scotland, is very true; the Scots, to give them their due, do cure a tolerable quantity of fish, even in or near the frith of Edinburgh; also there is a good fishery for cod on the west side, and among the islands of the Leuze, and the other parts called the western islands of Scotland; but the mistake lies in the quantity, which is not sufficient to supply the demand in those ports mentioned above, nor is it such as makes it by far so easy to load a ship as at Newfoundland, where it is done in the one-fifth part of the time, and consequently so much cheaper; and the author of this has found this to be so by experience.

Yet it cannot be said with justice that the Scots' fishermen are negligent, and do not improve this fishing to advantage, for that really they do kill and cure as many as can be easily done to make them come within a price, and more cannot be done; that is to say, it would be to no purpose to do it; for it will for ever be true in trade, that what cannot be done to advantage, may be said not to be possible to be done; because gain is the end of commerce, and the merchant cannot do what he cannot get by.

It may be true that in the herring fishery the consumption might be increased at home, and in some places also abroad, and so far that fishery is not so fully pursued; but I do not see that the increase of it can be very considerable, there being already a prodigious quantity cured more than ever in Ireland on every side of that kingdom, and also on the west of England; but if it may be increased,

so much the more will be the advantage of the commerce ; of which by itself.

But from this I come to the main article of the British trade, I mean our wool, or, as it is generally expressed, the woollen manufacture, and this is what I mean, when I said as above, spin and live.

In this likewise I must take the liberty to say, and insist upon it, that the English people cannot be said to be idle or slothful, or to neglect the advantages which are put into their hands of the greatest manufactures in Europe, if not in the whole world.

On the other hand, the people of England have run up their manufactures to such a prodigy of magnitude, that though it is extended into almost every part of the known world, I mean, the world as it is known in trade ; yet even that whole world is scarce equal to its consumption, and is hardly able to take off the quantity ; the negligence therefore of the English people is not so much liable to reproof in this part, as some pretend to tell us ; the trade of our woollen manufacture being evidently increased within these few years past, far beyond what it ever was before.

I know abundance of our people talk very dismal things of the decay of our woollen manufacture, and that it is declined much they insist upon it ; being prohibited in many places and countries abroad, of their setting up other manufactures of their own in the room of it, of their pretending to mimick and imitate it, and supply themselves with the produce of their own land, and the labour of their own people, and indeed France has for many years gone some length in this method of erecting woollen manufactures in the room of ours, and making their own productions serve instead of our completely finished manufacture : but all these imitations are weak and

unperforming, and show abundantly how little reason we have to apprehend their endeavours, or that they will be able to supplant our manufacture there or any where else; for that even in France itself, where the imitation of our manufactures is carried on to the utmost perfection; yet they are obliged to take off great quantities of our finest and best goods; and such is the necessity of their affairs, that they to this day run them in, that is, import them clandestinely at the greatest risk, in spite of the strictest prohibition, and of the severest penalties, death and the galleys excepted; a certain token that their imitation of our manufactures is so far from pleasing and supplying other parts of the world, that they are not sufficient to supply, or good enough to please themselves.

I must confess the imitating our manufactures has been carried further in France than in any other part of the world, and yet we do not see they have been able so to affect the consumption as to have any visible influence upon our trade; or, that we abate the quantity which we usually made, but that if they have checked the export at all, we have still found other channels of trade which have fully carried off our quantity, and shall still do so, though other nations were able to imitate us to, and this is very particularly stated and explained by the author of the book above mentioned, called the Plan of the English Commerce, where the extending our manufactures is handled more at large than I have room for in the narrow compass of this tract, and therefore I again refer my reader thither, as to the fountain head.

But I go on to touch the heads of things. The French do imitate our manufactures in a better manner, and in greater quantity than other nations; and why do we not prevent them? It is a terrible

satire upon our vigilance, or upon the method of our custom-house men, that we do not prevent it ; seeing the French themselves will not stick to acknowledge, that without a supply of our wool, which is evident they have now with very small difficulty from Ireland, they could do little in it, and indeed nothing at all to the purpose.

On the other hand, it is not so with France in regard to their silk manufactures, in which although we have not the principles of the work, I mean the silk growing within our dominions, but are obliged to bring it from Italy, yet we have so effectually shut out the French silk manufactures from our market, that in a word we have no occasion at all for them ; nay, if you will believe some of our manufacturers, the French buy some of our wrought silks and carry them into France ; but whether the particular be so in fact or no, this I can take upon me from good evidence to affirm, that whereas we usually imported in the ordinary course of trade, at least a million to twelve hundred thousand pounds' value a year in wrought silks from France ; now we import so little as is not worth naming ; and yet it is allowed that we do not wear less silk, or silks of a meaner value, than we usually did before, so that all the difference is clear gain on the English side in the balance of trade.

The contemplation of this very article furnishes a most eminent encouragement to our people, to increase and improve their trade ; and especially to gain upon the rest of Europe, in making all the most useful manufactures of other nations their own.

Nor would this increase of our trade be a small article in the balance of business, when we come to calculate the improvement we have made in that particular article, by encroaching upon our neighbours, more than they have been able to make upon

us ; and this also you will find laid down at large in the account of the improvement of our manufactures in general, calculated in the piece above mentioned, chap. v. p. 164.

If then the encroachments of France upon our woollen manufactures are so small, as very little to influence our trade, or lessen the quantity made here, and would be less if due care was taken to keep our wool out of their hands ; and that at the same time we have encroached upon their trade in the silk manufactures only, besides others, such as paper, glass, linen, hats, &c., to the value of twelve hundred thousand pounds a year, then France has got little by prohibiting the English manufactures, and perhaps had much better have let it alone.

However, I must not omit here what is so natural a consequence from these premises, viz., that here lies the first branch of our Humble Proposal to the People of England for Increase of their Commerce, and Improvement of their Manufactures ; namely, that they would keep their wool at home.

I know it will be asked immediately how shall it be done ? and the answer indeed requires more time and room to debate it, than can be allowed me here. But the general answer must be given ; certainly it is practicable to be done, and I am sure it is absolutely necessary. I shall say more to it presently.

But I go on with the discourse of the woollen manufactures in general ; nothing is more certain, than that it is the greatest and most extensive branch of our whole trade, and, as the piece above mentioned says positively, is really the greatest manufacture in the world. Vide Plan, chap. v. p. 172. 179.

Nor can the stop of its vent, in this or that part of the world, greatly affect it ; if foreign trade abates its demand in one place, it increases it in another ; and it certainly goes on increasing prodigiously every

year, in direct confutation of the phlegmatic assertions of those, who, with as much malice as ignorance, endeavour to run it down, and depreciate its worth as well as credit, by their ill-grounded calculations.

We might call for evidence in this cause the vast increase of our exportation in the woollen manufactures only to Portugal ; which, for above twenty-five years past, has risen from a very moderate trade to such a magnitude, that we now export more woollen goods in particular yearly to Portugal, than both Spain and Portugal took off before, notwithstanding Spain has been represented as so extraordinary a branch of trade. The occasion of this increase is fully explained, by the said Plan of the English Commerce, to be owing to the increase of the Portuguese colonies in the Brazils, and in the kingdoms of Congo and Angola on the west side of Africa ; and of Melinda and the coast of Zanguebar on the east side ; in all which the Portuguese have so civilized the natives and black inhabitants of the country, as to bring them, where they went even stark naked before, to clothe decently and modestly now, and to delight to do so, in such a degree as they will hardly ever be brought to go unclothed again ; and all these nations are clothed more or less with our English woollen manufactures, and the same in proportion in their East India factories.

The like growth and increase of our own colonies, is another article to confirm this argument, viz., that the consumption of our manufactures is increased : it is evident that the number of our people, inhabitants of those colonies, visibly increases every day ; so must by a natural consequence the consumption of the cloths they wear.

And this increase is so great, and is so demonstrably growing every day greater, that it is more

than equal to all the decrease occasioned by the check or prohibitions put upon our manufactures, whether by the imitation of the French or any other European nation.

I might dwell upon this article, and extend the observation to the East Indies, where a remarkable difference is evident between the present and the past times ; for whereas a few years past the quantity of European goods, whether of English or other manufactures, was very small, and indeed not worth naming ; on the contrary, now the number of European inhabitants in the several factories of the English, Dutch, and Portuguese, is so much increased, and the people who are subject to them also, and who they bring in daily to clothe after the European fashion, especially at Batavia, at Fort St. George, at Surat, Goa, and other principal factories, that the demand for our manufactures is grown very considerable, and daily increasing. This also the said Plan of of the Commerce insists much on, and explains in a more particular manner.

But to proceed : not only our English colonies and factories are increased, as also the Portuguese in the Brazils, and in the south part of Africa ; not only the factories of the English and Dutch in the East Indies are increased, and the number of Europeans there being increased call for a greater quantity of European goods than ever ; but even the Spaniards, and their colonies in the West Indies, I mean in New Spain, and other dominions of the Spaniards in America, are increased in people, and that not so much the Spaniards themselves, though they too are more numerous than ever, but the civilized free Indians, as they are called, are exceedingly multiplied.

These are Indians in blood, but being native subjects of Spain, know no other nation, nor do they

speak any other language than Spanish, being born and educated among them. They are tradesmen, handicrafts, and bred to all kinds of business, and even merchants too, as the Spaniards are, and some of them exceeding rich ; of these they tell us there are thirty thousand families in the city of Lima only, and doubtless the numbers of these increase daily.

As all these go clothed like Spaniards, as well themselves as their wives, children, and servants, of which they have likewise a great many, so it necessarily follows that they greatly increase the consumption of European goods, and that the demand of English manufactures in particular increases in proportion, these manufactures being more than two-thirds of the ordinary habit or dress of those people, as it is also of the furniture of their houses ; all which they take from their first patrons, the Spaniards.

It will seem a very natural inquiry here, how I can pretend to charge the English nation with indolence or negligence in their labouring or working their woollen manufactures ; when it is apparent they work up all the wool which their whole nation produces, that the whole growth and produce of their sheep is wrought up by them, and that they buy a prodigious quantity from Ireland and Scotland, and work up all that too, and that with this they make such an infinite quantity of goods, that they, as it were, glut and gorge the whole world with their manufactures.

My answer is positive and direct, viz., that notwithstanding all this, they are chargeable with an unaccountable, unjustifiable, and, I had almost said, a most scandalous indolence and neglect, and that in respect to this woollen manufacture in particular ; a neglect so gross, that by it they suffer a ma-

nifest injury in trade. This neglect consists of three heads :

1. They do not work up all the wool which they might come at, and which they ought to work up, and about which they have still spare hands enough to set to work.

2. They with difficulty sell off or consume the quantity of goods they make ; whereas they might otherwise vend a much greater quantity, both abroad and at home.

3. They do not sufficiently apply themselves to the improving and enlarging their colonies abroad, which, as they are already increased, and have increased the consumption of the manufactures, so they are capable of being much further improved, and would thereby still further improve and increase the manufactures. By so much as they do not work up the wool, by so much they neglect the advantage put into their hands ; for the wool of Great Britain and Ireland is certainly a singular and exclusive gift from Heaven, for the advantage of this great and opulent nation. If Heaven has given the wool, and we do not improve the gift by manufacturing it all up, so far we are to be reproached with indolence and neglect ; and no wonder if the wool goes from Ireland to France by whole shiploads at a time ; for what must the poor Irish do with their wool ? If they manufacture it we will not let them trade with those manufactures, or export them beyond sea. Our reasons for that prohibition are indeed very good, though too long to debate in this place : but no reason can be alleged that can in any sense of the thing be justifiable, why we should not either give leave to export the manufactures, or take the wool.

But to speak of the reason to ourselves, for the other is a reason to them (I mean the Irish). The

reason to ourselves is this : we ought to take the wool ourselves, that the French might not have it to erect and imitate our own manufactures in France, and so supplant our trade.

Certainly, if we could take the whole quantity of the Irish wool off their hands, we might with ease prevent it being carried to France ; for much of it goes that way, merely because they cannot get money for it at home.

This I charge therefore as a neglect, and an evident proof of indolence ; namely, that we do not take effectual care to secure all the wool in Ireland ; give the Irish money for it at a reasonable market price, and then cause it to be brought to England as to the general market.

I know it will be objected, that England does already take off as much as they can, and as much as they want ; and to bring over more than they can use, will sink the market, and be an injury to ourselves ; but I am prepared to answer this directly and effectually, and you shall have a full reply to it immediately.

But, in the mean time, this is a proof of the first proposition ; namely, that we do not work up all our own wool, for the Irish wool is, and ought to be, esteemed as our own, in the present debate about trade ; for that it is carried away from our own dominions, and is made use of by those that rival our manufactures to the ruin of our own trade.

That the Irish are prohibited exporting their wool, is true ; but it seems a little severe to prohibit them exporting their wool, and their manufactures too, and then not to buy the wool of them neither.

It is alleged by some, that we do take off all the wool they bring us, and that we could and would take it all, if they would bring it all. To this I answer; if

the Irish people do not bring it all to us, it is either that it is too far for the poor people who own the wool to bring it to the south and east coast of Ireland, there being no markets in the west and north-west parts of that island, where they could sell it; and the farmers and sheep-breeders are no merchants, nor have they carriage for so long a journey; but either the public ought to appoint proper places whether it shall be carried, and where they would receive money for it at a certain rate; or erect markets where those who deal in wool might come to buy, and where those who have it to sell would find buyers.

No doubt but the want of buyers is the reason why so much of the Irish wool is carried over to France; besides, if markets were appointed where the poor farmers could always find buyers at one price or another, there would be then no pretence for them to carry it away in the dark, and by stealth, to the sea side, as is now the case; and the justice of prohibitions and seizures would be more easily to be defended; indeed there would be no excuse for the running it off, nor would there want any excuse for seizing it, if they attempted to run it off.

But I am called upon to answer the objection mentioned above; namely, that the manufactures in England do indeed already take off a very great quantity of the Irish wool, as much as they have occasion for; nay, they condescend so far to the Irish, as to allow them to manufacture a great deal of that wool which they take off; that is to say, to spin it into yarn, of which yarn so great a quantity is brought into England yearly, as they assure us amounts to sixty thousand packs of wool; as may be seen by a fair calculation in the book above mentioned, called the Plan; in a word, that the

English are not in a condition to take off any more. Now this is that which leads me directly to the question in hand ; whether the English are able to take off any more of the Irish wool and yarn, or no. I do not affirm, that, as the trade in England is now carried on, they are able, perhaps they are not ; but I insist, that if we were thoroughly resolved in England to take such wise measures as we ought to take, and as we are well able to do, for the improvement and increase of our manufactures, we might and should be able to take off, and work up the whole growth of the wool of Ireland ; and this I shall presently demonstrate, as I think, past doubt.

But before I come to the scheme for the performance of this, give me leave to lay down some particulars of the advantage this would be to our country, and to our commerce, supposing the thing could be brought to pass ; and then I shall show how easily it might be brought to pass.

1. By taking off this great quantity of wool and yarn, supposing one half of the quantity to be spun, many thousands of the poor people of Ireland who are now in a starving condition for want of employment, would be set immediately to work, and be put in a condition to get their bread ; so that it would be a present advantage to the Irish themselves, and that far greater than it can be now, their wool which goes away to France being all carried off unwrought.

2. Due care being then taken to prevent any exportation of wool to France, as, I take it for granted, might be done with much more ease when the Irish had encouragement to sell their wool at home, we should soon find a difference in the expense of wool, by the French being disabled from imitating our manufactures abroad, and the consumption of our own would naturally increase in proportion.

First, they would not be able to thrust their manufactures into foreign markets as they now do, by which the sale of our manufactures must necessarily be abated ; and, secondly, they would want supplies at home, and consequently our manufactures would be more called for, even in France itself, and that in spite of penalties and prohibitions.

Thus by our taking off the Irish wool, we should in time prevent its exportation to France ; and by preventing its going to France, we should disable the French, and increase the consumption of our own manufactures in all the ports whither they now send them, and even in France itself.

I have met with some people who have made calculations of the quantity of wool which is sent annually from Ireland to France, and they have done it by calculating, first how many packs of wool the whole kingdom of Ireland may produce ; and this they do again from the number of sheep which they say are fed in Ireland in the whole. How right this calculation may be I will not determine.

First, they tell us, there are fed in Ireland thirty millions of sheep, and as all these sheep are supposed be sheared once every year, they must produce exactly thirty millions of fleeces, allowing the fell wool in proportion to the number of sheep killed.

It is observable, by a very critical account of the wool produced annually in Romney marsh, in the county of Kent, and published in the said Plan of the English Commerce, that the fleeces of wool of those large sheep, generally weigh above four pounds and a half each. It is computed thus ; first he tells us that Romney marsh contains 47,110 acres of land, that they feed 141,330 sheep, whose wool being shorn, makes up 2,523 packs of wool, the sum of which is, that every acre feeds three sheep, every sheep yields one fleece, and 56 fleeces make one

pack of wool, all which comes out to 2,523 packs of wool, twenty-three fleeces over, every pack weighing two hundred and forty pounds of wool. Vide Plan, &c. p. 259.

I need not observe here, that the sheep in Ireland are not near so large as the sheep in Romney marsh, these last being generally the largest breed of sheep in England, except a few on the bank of the river Tees in the bishoprick of Durham. Now if these large sheep yield fleeces of four pounds and a half of wool, we may be supposed to allow the Irish sheep, take them one with another, to yield three pounds of wool to a fleece, or to a sheep, out of which must be deducted the fell wool, most of which is of a shorter growth, and therefore cannot be reckoned so much by at least a pound to a sheep. Begin then to account for the wool, and we may make some calculation from thence of the number of sheep.

1. If of the Romney marsh fleeces, weighing four pounds and a half each, fifty-six fleeces make one pack of wool; then seventy fleeces Irish wool, weighing three pounds each fleece, make a pack.

2. If we import from Ireland one hundred thousand packs of wool, as well in the fleece as in the yarn, then we import the wool of seven millions of sheep fed in Ireland every year.

Come we next to the gross quantity of wool; as the Irish make all their own manufactures, that is to say, all the woollen manufactures, needful for their own use, such as for wearing apparel, house furniture, &c., we cannot suppose but that they use much more than the quantity exported to England, besides that, it is too well known, that notwithstanding the prohibition of exportation, they do daily ship off great quantities of woollen goods, not only to the West Indies, but also to France, to

Spain, and Italy ; and we have had frequent complaints of our merchants from Lisbon and Oporto, of the great quantity of Irish woollen manufactures that are brought thither, as well broadcloth as serges, druggets, duroys, frieze, long-ells, and all the other sorts of goods which are usually exported from England ; add these clandestine exportations to the necessary clothing, furniture, and equipages, of that whole nation, in which are reckoned two millions and a half of people, and we cannot suppose they make use of less than two hundred thousand packs of wool yearly among themselves, which is the wool of fourteen millions of sheep more.

We must, then, allow all the rest of the wool to be run or smuggled, call it what you please, to France, which must be at least a hundred to a hundred and twenty thousand packs more : for it seems the Irish tell us that they feed thirty millions of sheep in the whole kingdom of Ireland.

If, then, they run over to France a hundred thousand packs of wool yearly, which I take to be the least, all this amounts to twenty-eight millions of fleeces together ; the other two millions of fleeces may justly be deducted for the difference between the quantity of wool taken from the sheep that are killed, which we call fell wool, and the fleece wool shorn.

Upon the foot of this calculation, there are a hundred thousand packs of wool produced in Ireland every year, which we ought to take off, and which, for want of our taking it off, is carried away to France, where it is wholly employed to mimick our manufactures and abuse our trade ; lessening thereby the demand of our own goods abroad, and even in France itself. This, therefore, is a just reproach to our nation, and they are certainly guilty of a great neglect in not taking off that wool, and

more effectually preventing it being carried away to France.

It must be confessed, that unless we do find some way to take off this wool from the Irish, we cannot so reasonably blame them for selling it to the French, or to anybody else that will buy, for what else can they do with it, seeing you shut up all their ports against the manufacturers; at least you shut them up as far as you are able; and if you will neither let them manufacture it, for not letting them transport the manufacture when made is in effect forbidding to make them; I say, if you will neither let them manufacture their wool nor take it off their hands, what must they do with it?

But I come next to the grand objection; namely, that we cannot take it off, that we do take off as much as we can use, and a very great quantity it is too; that we are not able to take more, that is to say, we know not what to do with it if we take it; that we cannot manufacture it, or if we do, we cannot sell the goods; and so, according to the known rule in trade, that what cannot be done with profit or without loss, we may say of it that it cannot be done; so in the sense of trade, we cannot take their wool off, and if they must run it over to France, they must, we cannot help it.

This, I say, is a very great mistake; and I do affirm, that as we ought to take off the whole quantity of the Irish wool, so we may and are able to do it. That our manufacture is capable of being so increased, and the consumption of it increased also, as well at home as abroad; that it would in the ordinary course of trade call for all the wool of Ireland, if it were much more than it is, and employ it profitably; besides employing many thousands of poor people more than are now employed, and who indeed want employment.

Upon this foundation, and to bring this to be true, as I shall presently make appear, I must add, that a just reproach lies upon us for indolence, and an unaccountable neglect of our national interests, in not sufficiently exerting ourselves to improve our trade and increase our manufactures ; which is the title, as it is the true design, of this whole work.

The affirming, as above, that we are able to increase our manufacture, and by that increase to take off more wool, may, perhaps, be thought an arrogance too great to be justified, and would be a begging the question in an egregious manner, if I were not in a condition to prove what I say ; I shall therefore apply myself directly to evidence, and to put it out of doubt :—

By increasing our manufacture, I am content to be understood to mean the increasing the consumption, otherwise, to increase quantity only, would be to ruin the manufacturers, not improve the trade. This increasing the consumption is to be considered under two generals.

1. The consumption at home.
2. The exportation, or consumption abroad.

I begin with the last ; namely, the consumption abroad. This is too wide a field to enter upon in particular here, I refer it to be treated at large by itself ; but as far as it serves to prove what I have affirmed above, namely, that the consumption of our manufactures may be improved abroad, so far it is needful to speak of it here ; I shall confine it to the English colonies and factories abroad.

It is evident, that by the increase of our colonies, the consumption of our manufactures has been exceedingly increased ; not only experience proves it, but the nature of the thing makes it impossible to

all the other productions usual in that latitude, as either the Barbadoes or Jamaica.

Our factories, for they cannot yet be called colonies, on the coast of Africa, offer us the like advantages. Why are they not turned into populous and powerful colonies, as they might be? Why not encouraged from hence? And why is not their trade espoused and protected as our other colonies and factories? but left to be ravaged by the naked and contemptible negroes; plundered, and their trade ravished by the more unjust and more merciless interlopers, who, instead of thieves, for they are no better, would be called separate traders only, though they break in by violence and fraud upon the property of an established company, and rob them of their commerce, even under the protection of their own forts and castles, which these paid nothing towards the cost of.

Why does not England enlarge and encourage the commerce of the coast of Guniea? plant and fortify, and establish such possessions there as other nations, the Portuguese for example, in the opposite coast on the same latitude? Is it not all owing to the most unaccountable indolence and neglect? What hinders but that we might ere now have had strong towns and an inhabited district round them, and a hundred thousand Christians dwelling at large in that country, as the Portuguese have now at Melinda, in the same latitude, on the eastern coast?

And what hinders, but that same indolence and neglect, that they have not there growing at this time, the coffee of Mocha, as the Dutch have at Batavia; the tea of China, the cocoa of the Caraccas, the spices of the Moluccas, and all the other productions of the remotest Indies, which grow now in the same latitude, and which cost us so much treasure yearly to purchase, and which, as has been

tried, would prosper here as well as in the countries from which we fetch them?

What a consumption of English manufacture would follow such a plantation? and what an increase of trade would necessarily attend an increase of people there?

I have not room to enlarge here upon these heads; they are fully stated in the said Plan of English Commerce, and in several other tracts of trade lately published by the same author, and to that I refer. See the Plan, chap. iii. page 335. and chap. v. page 363.

I come next to the consumption at home, and here indeed the proof lies heavy upon ourselves; nothing but an unaccountable supreme negligence of our own apparent advantages can be the cause of the whole grievance; such a negligence, as I think, no nation but the English are, or can be guilty of; I mean no nation that has the like advantage of a manufacture, and that has a hundred thousand packs of wool every year unwrought up, and a million of people unemployed.

N. B. All our manufactures, whether of wool, silk, or thread, and all other wares, hard or soft, though we have a very great variety, yet do not employ all our people, by a great many; nay, we have some whole counties into which the woollen, or silk, or linen manufacture, may be said never to have set their feet, I mean as to the working part; or so little as not to be worth naming; such in particular as Cambridge, Huntingdon, Hertford, Bedford; the first three are of late indeed come into the spinning part a little, but it is but very little; the like may be said of the counties of Cheshire, Stafford, Derby, and Lincoln, in all which very little, if any, manufactures are carried on; neither are the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surry, or Hampshire, em-

ployed in any of the woollen manufactures worth mentioning ; the last indeed on the side about Alton and Alresford, may be said to do a little ; and the first just at Canterbury and Cranbrook. But what is all they do compared to the extent of four counties so populous that it is thought there are near a million of people in them ?

Seeing then, I say, there are yet so many people want employ, and so much wool unwrought up, and which for want of being thus wrought up, is carried away by a clandestine, smuggling, pernicious trade, to employ our enemies in trade, the French, and to endanger our manufactures at foreign markets, how great is our negligence, and how much to the reproach of our country is it, that we do not improve this trade, and increase the consumption of the manufactures as we ought to do ? I mean the consumption at home, for of the foreign consumption I have spoken already.

It seems to follow here as a natural inquiry, after what has been said, that we should ask, How is this to be done, and by what method can the people of England increase the home consumption of their woollen manufactures ?

I cannot give a more direct answer to this question, or introduce what follows in a better manner, than in the very words of the author of the book so often mentioned above, as follows, speaking of this very thing, thus :—

“ The next branch of complaint,” says this author, “ is, that the consumption of our woollen manufacture is lessened at home.

“ This, indeed,” continues he, “ though least regarded, has the most truth and reason in it, and merits to be more particularly inquired into ; but supposing the fact to be true, let me ask the complainer this question, viz., why do we not mend it ?

and that without laws, without teasing the parliament and our sovereign, for what they find difficult enough to effect even by law? The remedy is our own, and in our own power. I say, why do not the people of Great Britain, by general custom and by universal consent, increase the consumption of their own manufacture by rejecting the trifles and toys of foreigners?

“Why do we not appear dressed in the growth of our own country, and made fine by the labour of our own hands?” Vide Plan of the English Commerce, p. 252.

And again, p. 254; “We must turn the complaints of the people upon themselves, and entreat them to encourage the manufactures of England by a more general use and wearing of them. This alone would increase the consumption, as that alone would increase the manufacture itself.”

I cannot put this into a plainer or better way of arguing, or in words more intelligible to every capacity.

Did ever any nation but ours complain of the declining of their trade and at the same time discourage it among themselves? Complain that foreigners prohibit our manufactures, and at the same time prohibit it themselves? for refusing to wear it is the worst and severest way of prohibiting it.

We do indeed put a prohibition upon our trade when we stop up the stream, and dam up the channel of its consumption, by putting a slight upon the wearing it, and, as it were, voting it out of fashion; for if you once vote your goods out of wear, you vote them out of the market, and you had as good vote them contraband.

With what an impetuous gust of the fancy did we run into the product of the East Indies for some

years ago? How did we patiently look on and see the looms empty, the workmen fled, the wives and children starve and beg, the parishes loaded, and the poor's rates rise to a surprising height, while the ladies flourished in fine Massulapatam, chints, Indian damasks, China atlasses, and an innumerable number of rich silks, the product of the coast of Malabar, Coromandel, and the Bay of Bengal, and the poorer sort with calicoes? And with what infinite difficulty was a remedy obtained, and with what regret did the ladies part with that foreign pageantry, and stoop to wear the richest silks of their own manufacture, though these were the life of their country's prosperity, and those the ruin of it?

When this was the case, how fared our trade? The state of it was thus, in a few words:—

The poor, as above, wanted bread; the wool lay on hand, sunk in price, and wanted a market; the manufacturers wanted orders, and when they made goods, knew not where to sell them; all was melancholy and dismal on that side; nothing but the East India trade could be said to thrive; their ships went out full of money and came home full of poison; for it was all poison to our trade. The immense sums of ready money that went abroad to India impoverished our trade, and indeed bid fair to starve it, and, in a word, to beggar the nation.

At home we were so far from working up the whole quantity or growth of our wool, that three or four years' growth lay on hand in the poor tenants' houses, for want of which they could not pay their rent.

The wool from Scotland, which comes all to us now, went another way, viz., to France, for the Union was not then made, and yet we had too much at

home. Nor was the quantity brought from Ireland half so much as it is now.

Was all this difference from our own wearing, or not wearing the produce of our own manufacture? How unaccountably stupid then are we to run still retrograde to the public good of our country, and ruin our own commerce, by rejecting our own manufacture, setting our people to furnish other nations with cloths, and recommending the manufacture to other countries, and rejecting them ourselves?

If the difference was small, and the clothing of our own people was a thing of small moment, that it made no impression on the commerce, or the manufacture in general, it might be said to be too little to take notice of.

If our consumption at home is thus considerable, and the clothing of our own people does consume the wool of many millions of sheep; if the silk trade employs many thousands of families; if there is an absolute necessity of working up if possible all the growth of our wool, as well of Ireland as of England, or that else it would be run over to France, to the encouragement of rival manufactures, and the ruin of our own; in a word, if our own people, falling into a general use of our own manufacture, would effectually do this, and their continuing to neglect it would effectually throw our manufacture into convulsions, and stagnate the whole trade of the kingdom; if our wearing foreign silk manufactures did annually carry out 1,200,000*l.* sterling per annum for silks, to France and Italy, and above 600,000*l.* per annum for the like to India, all in spices, to the impoverishing our trade, by emptying us of all our ready money, as well as starving our poor for want of employment.

Again, if these grievances were very much abated,

and indeed almost remedied by the several acts of parliament, first to prohibit East India silks, then to lay high duties, equal to prohibition, upon French silks ; and, in the last place, an act to prohibit the use and wearing of printed calicoes ; I say, if these acts have gone so far in the retrieving the dying condition of our woollen manufacture, and encouraging the silk manufacture ; that in the first, we have wrought up all the English growth of wool, and that of Scotland too, which was never done before ; and in the last have improved so remarkably in the silk manufacture, that all that vast sum of 1,800,000*l.* per annum, expended before in French and Indian silks, is now turned into the pockets of our own poor, and kept all at home, and the silks become a mere English manufacture as was before a foreign.

If all this is true, as it is most certainly, what witchcraft must it be that has seized upon the fancy of this nation ? What spirit of blindness and infatuation must have possessed us ? that we are in all haste running back into the old, stupid, and dull unthinking state, and growing fond of anything, nay of everything that is injurious to our own commerce, and be it as ruinous as it will to our own poor, and to our own manufactures ; nay, though we see our trade sick and languishing, and our poor starving before our eyes ; and know that we ourselves are the only cause of it, are yet so obstinately and unalterable averse to our own manufacture, and fond of novelties and trifles, that we will not wear our own goods, but will at any hazard make use of things foreign to us, the labour and advantage of strangers, pagans, negroes, or any kind of people, rather than our own.

Unhappy temper, unknown in any nation but ours ! The wiser pagans and Mahometans, natives of India,

Persia, China, Japan, Siam, Pegu, act otherwise ; wherever we find any people in these parts, we find them clothed with their own manufacture, whether of silk, cotton, herba, or of whatever other materials they were made ; nor to this day have our nicest or finest manufactures, though perfectly new to them, (and novelties we see take with us to a frenzy and distraction) touched their fancies, or so much as tempted them to wear them ; all our endeavours to persuade them have been in vain ; but with us, any new fancy, any far-fetched novelty, however antick, however extravagant in price, nay the dearer the more prevailing, presently touches our wandering fancy, and makes us cast off our finest and most agreeable produce, the fruit of our own industry, and the labour of our own poor, making a mode of the foreign gewgaw, let it be as wild and barbarous as it will.

But I meet with an objection in my way here, which is insisted upon with the utmost warmth ; namely :—

Objection : you seem to acknowledge that the prohibition of India silks and the duties upon French silks, have effectually answered the end as to silks ; and that the late act against the use and wearing of printed or painted calicoes has likewise had its effect on the woollen manufacture. There is nothing now left to support your complaint but the printed linen ; which, though it is become a general wear, yet is our own product and growth, and the labour of our own poor ; for the Scots and Irish, by whom the linen is manufactured, are our own subjects, and ought as much to be in our concern as any of the rest, and that linen is as much our own manufacture as the silk and the wool.

Nothing could, in my opinion, be more surprising of its kind, than to hear with what warmth this

very argument was urged to the parliament, and to the public, by not the Scots and Irish only, but even by some of our own people, possessed and persuaded by the other, at the time the act against the printed calicoes was depending before the parliament; as if an upstart, and in itself trifling manufacture, however increased by the corruption of our people's humour and fancy, could be an equivalent to the grand manufacture of wool in England, which is the fund of our whole commerce, and has been the spring and fountain of our wealth and prosperity for above three hundred years; a manufacture which employs millions of our people, which has raised the wealth of the whole nation from what it then was to what it now is; a manufacture that has made us the greatest trading nation in the world, and upon which all our wealth and commerce still depends.

I insist upon it that no novelty is to be encouraged among us to the prejudice of this chief and main support of our country, let it be of what kind it will; nor is it at all to the purpose to say such or such a novelty is made at home, and is the work of our own people; it is to say nothing at all, for we ought no more to set up particular manufactures to the prejudice of the woollen trade in general, which is the grand product of the whole nation, and on which our whole prosperity depends, than we would spread an universal infection among us, on pretence that the vegetable or plant from whence the destructive effluvia proceeded, was the growth of our own land; or than we should publish the Alcoran and the most heretical, blasphemous, or immodest books, to taint the morals and principles of the people, on pretence that the paper and print were our own manufactures.

I am for encouraging all manufactures that can

be invented and set up among us, and that may tend to the employment of the poor and improvement of our produce; such things having a national tendency to raising the rent of our lands, assisting the consumption of our growth, and, in a word, increasing trade in general; I say I am for encouraging new manufactures of all sorts, with this one exception only, namely, that they do not interfere with, and tend to the prejudice of the woollen manufacture, which is the main and essential manufacture of England.

But the woollen manufacture is the life and blood of the whole nation, the soul of our trade, the top of all manufactures, and nothing can be erected that either rivals it or any way lessens it or interferes with it, without wounding us in the more noble and vital part, and, in effect, endangering the whole.

To set up a manufacture of painted linen, which, touching the particular pride and gay humour of the ordinary sort of people, intercepts the woollen manufacture, which they would otherwise be clothed with, is so far wounding and supplanting the woollen manufacture for a paltry trifle, and though it is indeed in itself but a trifle, yet as the poorer sort of people, the servants, and the wives and children of the farmers and country people, and of the labouring poor, who wear this new fangle, are a vast multitude, the wound strikes deeper into the quantity than most people imagine, makes a large abatement of the consumption of wool, lessening the labour of the poor manufacturers very considerably; and on this account, I say, it ought not to be encouraged, though it be our own manufacture.

Do we not, from this very principle, prohibit the planting tobacco in England, though our own land would produce it? Do we not know there are coals

in Blackheath, Muzzle-hill, and other places, but that we must not work them that we may not hurt the navigation? The reason is exactly the same here.

This consideration is so pungent in itself, and so naturally touches every Englishman that has the good of his country at heart, that one would think there should be no occasion for an act of parliament to oblige them to it; but they should be moved by a mere concern of mind, and generous endeavour for the public prosperity, not to fall in with or encourage any new project, any new custom or fashion, without first inquiring particularly whether it would not be injurious to the prosperity of the main and grand article of the English Commerce, the woollen manufacture.

Were this public spirit among us, we need fear no upstart manufacture breaking in upon us, whether printed linen or anything else; for no people of sense, having the good of their country at heart, would touch it, much less make it a general fashion. But, as the Plan of English Commerce observes, our people, the ladies especially, have such a passion for the fashion, that they have been the greatest enemies to our woollen manufacture; and I must add that this passion for the fashion of printed linens at this time is a greater blow to the woollen manufacture of England than all the prohibitions in Germany and Italy, of which we may have formed such frightful ideas in our minds; or even than all the imitation of our manufactures abroad, whether in France, or any other part of Europe.

And yet, to conclude all,

How easy, how very easy is it for us to prevent it; which, by the way, deserves a whole book by itself.

FINIS.

AUGUSTA TRIUMPHANS :
OR, THE
W A Y
TO MAKE
L O N D O N
THE MOST FLOURISHING
CITY IN THE UNIVERSE.

FIRST,

By establishing an University where Gentlemen may have Academical Education under the Eye of their Friends.

II. By an Hospital for Foundlings.

III. By forming an Academy of Sciences at Christ's Hospital.

IV. By suppressing pretended Madhouses, where many of the Fair Sex are unjustly confined, while their Husbands keep Mistresses, &c., and many Widows are

locked up for the sake of their Jointure.

V. To save our Youth from Destruction, by clearing the Streets of impudent Strumpets, suppressing Gaming Tables, and Sunday Debauches.

VI. To save our lower Class of People from utter Ruin, and render them useful, by preventing the immoderate use of Geneva: with a frank Explosion of many other common Abuses, and incontestible Rules for Amendment.

CONCLUDING WITH

An effectual Method to prevent *Street Robberies*.

AND

A Letter to Coll. Robinson, on account of the Orphans' Tax.

By ANDREW MORETON, Esq.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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AUGUSTA TRIUMPHANS :
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A MAN who has the public good in view, ought not in the least to be alarmed at the tribute of ridicule which scoffers constantly pay to projecting heads. It is the business of a writer, who means well, to go directly forward, without regard to criticism, but to offer his thoughts as they occur ; and if in twenty schemes he hits but on one to the purpose, he ought to be excused failing in the nineteen for the twentieth sake. It is a kind of good action to mean well, and the intention ought to palliate the failure ; but the English, of all people in the world, show least mercy to schemists, for they treat them in the vilest manner ; whereas other nations give them fair play for their lives, which is the reason why we are esteemed so bad at invention.

I have but a short time to live, nor would I waste my remaining thread of life in vain, but having often lamented sundry public abuses, and many schemes having occurred to my fancy, which to me

carried an air of benefit, I was resolved to commit them to paper before my departure, and leave, at least, a testimony of my good will to my fellow-creatures.

But of all my reflections, none was more constantly my companion than a deep sorrow for the present decay of learning among us, and the manifest corruption of education ; we have been a brave and learned people, and are insensibly dwindling into an effeminate, superficial race. Our young gentlemen are sent to the universities, it is true, but not under restraint or correction as formerly ; not to study, but to drink ; not for furniture for the head, but a feather for the cap, merely to say they have been at Oxford or Cambridge, as if the air of those places inspired knowledge without application. It is true we ought to have those places in reverence for the many learned men they have sent us ; but why must we go so far for knowledge ? Why should a young gentleman be sent raw from the nursery to live on his own hands, to be liable to a thousand temptations, and run the risk of being snapped up by sharping jilts, with which both universities abound, who make our youth of fortune their prey, and have brought misery into too many good families ? Not only the hazard of their healths from debauches of both kinds, but the waste of their precious time renders the sending them so far off very hazardous. Why should such a metropolis as London be without an university ? Would it not save considerably the expense we are at in sending our young gentlemen so far from London ? Would it not add to the lustre of our state, and cultivate politeness among us ? What benefits may we not in time expect from so glorious a design ? Will not London become the scene of science ? And what reason have we but to hope we may vie with any

neighbouring nations? Not that I would have Oxford or Cambridge neglected, for the good they have done. Besides, there are too many fine endowments to be sunk; we may have universities at those places and at London too, without prejudice. Knowledge will never hurt us, and whoever lives to see an university here, will find it give quite another turn to the genius and spirit of our youth in general.

How many gentlemen pass their lives in a shameful indolence, who might employ themselves to the purpose, were such a design set on foot? Learning would flourish, art revive, and not only those who studied would benefit by it, but the blessing would be conveyed to others by conversation.

And in order to this so laudable design, small expense is required; the sole charge being the hire of a convenient hall or house, which, if they please, they may call a college. But I see no necessity the pupils have to lie or diet there; that may be done more reasonably and conveniently at home, under the eye of their friends; their only necessary business at college being to attend their tutors at stated hours; and, bed and board excepted, to conform themselves to college laws, and perform the same exercises as if they were actually at Oxford or Cambridge.

Let the best of tutors be provided, and professors in all faculties encouraged; this will do a double good, not only to the instructed, but to the instructors. What a fine provision may here be made for numbers of ingenious gentlemen now unpreferred? And to what a height may even a small beginning grow in time?

As London is so extensive, so its university may be composed of many colleges, quartered at convenient distances: for example, one at Westminster,

one at St. James's, one near Ormond-street, that part of the town abounding in gentry; one in the centre of the Inns of Court, another near the Royal Exchange, and more if occasion and encouragement permit.

The same offices and regulations may be constituted, cooks, butlers, bed-makers, &c., excepted, as at other universities. As for endowment, there is no need, the whole may be done by subscription, and that an easy one, considering that nothing but instructions are paid for.

In a word, an academical education is so much wanted in London, that everybody of ability and figure will readily come into it; and I dare engage, the place need but be chosen, and tutors approved of, to complete the design at once.

It may be objected, that there is a kind of university at Gresham college, where professors in all sciences are maintained, and obliged to read lectures every day, or at least as often as demanded. The design is most laudable, but it smells too much of the *sine cure*; they only read in term time, and then their lectures are so hurried over, the audience is little the better. They cannot be turned out, it is a good settlement for life, and they are very easy in their studies when once fixed. Whereas were the professorship during good behaviour, there would be a study to maintain their posts, and their pupils would reap the benefit.

Upon second thought, I think colleges for university education might be formed at Westminster, Eton, the Charter-house, St. Paul's, Merchant Tailors, and other public schools, where youth might begin and end their studies; but this may be further considered of.

I had almost forgot the most material point, which is, that his majesty's sanction must first be

obtained, and the university proposed have power to confer degrees, &c., and other academical privileges.

As I am quick to conceive, I am eager to have done, unwilling to overwork a subject ; I had rather leave part to the conception of the readers, than to tire them or myself with protracting a theme, as if, like a chancery man or a hackney author, I wrote by the sheet for hire. So let us have done with this topic, and proceed to another, which is :—

A proposal to prevent murder, dishonour, and other abuses, by erecting an hospital for foundlings.

It is needless to run into a declamation on this head, since not a sessions passes but we see one or more merciless mothers tried for the murder of their bastard children ; and, to the shame of good government, generally escape the vengeance due to shedders of innocent blood. For it is a common practice now among them to hire a set of old beldams, or pretended midwives, who make it their trade to bring them off for three or four guineas, having got the ready rote of swearing the child was not at its full growth, for which they have a hidden reserve ; that is to say, the child was not at man's or woman's growth. Thus do these impious wretches cheat the world, and damn their own souls by a double meaning, which too often imposes on a cautious, merciful, and credulous jury, and gives wicked murderers means to escape and commit fresh sins, to which their acquitters, no doubt, are accessory.

I wonder so many men of sense as have been on the jury have been so often imposed upon by the

stale pretence of a scrap or two of child-bed linen being found in the murderer's box, &c. ; when, alas ! perhaps, it was never put there till after the murder was committed ; or if it was, but with a view of saving themselves by that devilish precaution ; for so many have been acquitted on that pretence, that it is but too common a thing to provide child-bed linen beforehand for a poor innocent babe they are determined to murder.

But, alas ! what are the exploded murders to those which escape the eye of the magistrate, and die in silence ? Add to this, procured abortions and other indirect means which wicked wretches make use of to screen themselves from the censure of the world, which they dread more than the displeasure of their Maker.

Those who cannot be so hardhearted to murder their own offspring themselves, take a slower, though as sure, a way, and get it done by others, by dropping their children, and leaving them to be starved by parish nurses.

Thus is God robbed of a creature, in whom he had breathed the breath of life, and on whom he had stamped his image ; the world of an inhabitant, who might have been of use ; the king of a subject ; and future generations of an issue not to be accounted for, had this infant lived to have been a parent.

It is therefore the height of charity and humanity to provide against this barbarity, to prevent this crying sin, and extract good, even out of evil, by saving these innocent babes from slaughter, and bringing them up in the nurture and fear of the Lord ; to be of benefit to themselves and mankind in general.

And what nearer, what better way can we have, than to erect and to endow a proper hospital or

house to receive them, where we may see them tenderly brought up, as so many living monuments of our charity ; every one of them being a convincing proof of a Christian saved, and a murder prevented ?

Nor will this be attended with so much charge as is imagined, for we find in many parishes, that parents have redemanded their children, on increase of circumstances, and paid all costs, with a handsome present in the bargain ; and many times when a clandestine marriage is cleared up and openly avowed, they would purchase the first-fruits of their loves at any rate. Oftentimes a couple may have no more children, and an infant thus saved may arrive to inherit a good estate, and become a benefactor where it was once an object of charity.

But let us suppose the worst, and imagine the infant begot in sin and without the sanction of wedlock ; is it therefore to be murdered, starved, or neglected, because its parents were wicked ? Hard fate of innocent children to suffer for their parents' faults ! Where God has thought fit to give his image and life, there is nourishment demanded ; that calls aloud for our Christian and human assistance, and best shows our nobleness of soul, when we generously assist those who cannot help themselves.

If the fault devolved on the children, our church would deny them baptism, burial, and other Christian rites ; but our religion carries more charity with it, they are not denied even to partake of our blessed sacraments, and are excluded no one branch or benefit accruing from Christianity ; if so, how unjust are those who arraign them for their parents' faults, and how barbarous are those parents, who, though able, make no provision for them, because they are not legitimate. My child, is my child, let it be begot in sin or wedlock, and all the duties of a parent are incumbent on me so long as

it lives ; if it survives me, I ought to make a provision for it, according to my ability ; and though I do not set it on a footing with my legitimate children, I ought in conscience to provide against want and shame, or I am answerable for every sin or extravagance my child is forced or led into, for want of my giving an allowance to prevent it.

We have an instance very fresh in every one's memory, of an ingenious, nay a sober young nobleman, for such I must call him, whose either father was a peer, and his mother a peeress. This unhappy gentleman, tossed from father to father, at last found none, and himself a vagabond forced to every shift ; he in a manner starved for many years, yet was guilty of no capital crime, till that unhappy accident occurred, which God has given him grace and sense enough to repent. However, I cannot but think his hard-hearted mother will bear her portion of the guilt, till washed away by a severe repentance.

What a figure might this man have made in life, had due care been taken ? If his peerage had not been adjusted, he might at least have been a fine gentleman ; nay, probably have filled some handsome post in the government with applause, and called as much for respect as he does now for pity.

Nor is this gentleman the only person begot and neglected by noble, or rather ignoble parents ; we have but too many now living, who owe their birth to the best of our peerage, and yet know not where to eat. Hard fate, when the child would be glad of the scraps which the servants throw away ! But Heaven generally rewards them accordingly, for many noble families are become extinct, and large estates alienated into other houses, while their own issue want bread.

And now, methinks, I hear some over-squeamish

ladies cry, What would this fellow be at? would not he set up a nursery for lewdness, and encourage fornication? who would be afraid of sinning, if they can so easily get rid of their bastards? we shall soon be overrun with foundlings when there is such encouragement given to whoredom. To which I answer, that I am as much against bastards being begot, as I am for their being murdered; but when a child is once begot, it cannot be unbegotten; and when once born, it must be kept; the fault, as I said before, is in the parents, not the child; and we ought to show our charity towards it as a fellow-creature and Christian, without any regard to its legitimacy or otherwise.

The only way to put a stop to this growing evil, would be to oblige all housekeepers not to admit a man and woman as lodgers till they were certified of their being lawfully married; for now-a-days nothing is more common than for a whoremonger and a strumpet to pretend marriage, till they have left a child or two on the parish, and then shift to another part of the town.

If there were no receivers, there would be no thieves; if there were no bawdyhouses, there would be no whores; and though persons letting lodgings be not actual procurers, yet, if they connive at the embraces of a couple, whose marriage is doubtful, they are no better than bawds, and their houses no more than brothels.

Now should anybody ask how shall this hospital be built? how endowed? to which I answer, follow the steps of the Venetians, the Hamburgers, and other foreign states, &c., who have for ages past prosecuted this glorious design, and found their account therein. As for building a house, I am utterly against it, especially in the infancy of the affair: let a place convenient be hired. Why

should such a considerable sum be sunk in building as has in late public structures, which have swallowed up part of the profits and dividend, if not the capital, of unwary stockmongers?

To my great joy I find my project already anticipated, and a noble subscription carrying on for this purpose; to promote which I exhort all persons of compassion and generosity, and I shall think myself happy, if what I have said on this head may anyways contribute to further the same.

Having said all I think material on this subject, I beg pardon for leaving my reader so abruptly, and crave leave to proceed to another article, viz.:—

A proposal to prevent the expensive importation of foreign musicians, &c., by forming an academy of our own.

It will no doubt be asked what have I to do with music? to which I answer, I have been a lover of the science from my infancy, and in my younger days was accounted no despicable performer on the viol and lute, then much in vogue. I esteem it the most innocent amusement in life; it generally relaxes, after too great a hurry of spirits, and composes the mind into a sedateness prone to everything that is generous and good; and when the more necessary parts of education are finished, it is a most genteel and commendable accomplishment; it saves a great deal of drinking and debauchery in our sex, and helps the ladies off with many an idle hour, which sometimes might probably be worse employed otherwise.

Our quality, gentry, and better sort of traders must have diversions; and if those that are commendable be denied, they will take to worse; now

what can be more commendable than music, one of the seven liberal sciences, and no mean branch of the mathematics?

Were it for no other reason I should esteem it, because it was the favourite diversion of his late majesty, of glorious memory; who was as wise a prince as ever filled the British throne. Nor is it less esteemed by their present majesties, whose souls are formed for harmony, and who have not disdained to make it a part in the education of their sacred race.

Our nobility and gentry have shown their love to the science, by supporting at such prodigious expense the Italian opera, improperly called an academy; but they have at the same time shown no small partiality in discouraging anything English, and overloading the town with such heaps of foreign musicians.

An academy, rightly understood, is a place for the propagation of science, by training up persons thereto from younger to riper years, under the instruction and inspection of proper artists; how can the Italian opera properly be called an academy, when none are admitted but such as are, at least are thought, or ought to be, adepts in music? If that be an academy, so are the theatres of Drury-lane, and Lincolns-inn Fields; nay, Punch's opera may pass for a lower kind of academy. Would it not be a glorious thing to have an opera of our own, in our own most noble tongue, in which the composer, singers, and orchestra, should be of our own growth? Not that we ought to disclaim all obligations to Italy, the mother of music, the nurse of Corelli, Handel, Bononcini, Geminiani; but then we ought not to be so stupidly partial to imagine ourselves too brutal a part of mankind to make any progress in the science? By the same reason that we love it, we may excel in it; love begets ap-

plication, and application perfection. We have already had a Purcel, and no doubt there are now many latent geniuses, who only want proper instruction, application, and encouragement, to become great ornaments of the science, and make England emulate even Rome itself.

What a number of excellent performers on all instruments have sprung up in England within these few years? That this is owing to the opera I will not deny, and so far the opera is an academy, as it refines the taste and inspires emulation.

But though we are happy in instrumental performers, we frequently send to Italy for singers, and that at no small expense; to remedy which I humbly propose that the governors of Christ's Hospital will show their public spirit, by forming an academy of music on their foundation, after this or the like manner.

That out of their great number of children, thirty boys be selected of good ears and propensity to music.

That these boys be divided into three classes, viz., six for wind instruments, such as the hautboy, bassoon, and German flute.

That sixteen others be selected for string instruments, or at least the most useful, viz., the violin and bass-violin.

That the remaining eight be particularly chosen for voice, and organ, or harpsichord. That all in due time be taught composition. The boys thus chosen, three masters should be elected, each most excellent in his way; that is to say, one for the wind instrument, another for the stringed, and a third for the voice and organ, &c.

Handsome salaries should be allowed these masters, to engage their constant attendance every day from eight till twelve in the morning; and I think 100*l.*

per annum for each would be sufficient, which will be a trifle to so wealthy a body. The multiplicity of holidays should be abridged, and only a few kept; there cannot be too few, considering what a hinderance they are to juvenile studies. It is a vulgar error that has too long prevailed all over England to the great detriment of learning, and many boys have been made blockheads in complaisance to kings and saints dead for many ages past.

The morning employed in music, the boys should go in the afternoon, or so many hours, to the reading and writing school, and in the evening should practice, at least two hours before bed-time, and two before the master comes in the morning. This course held for seven or eight years, will make them fine proficients; but that they should not go too raw or young out of the academy, it is proper, that at the stated age of apprenticeship, they be bound to the hospital, to engage their greater application, and make them thorough masters, before they launch out into the world; for one great hinderance to many performers is, that they begin to teach too soon, and obstruct their genius.

What will not such a design produce in a few years? Will they not be able to perform a concert, choir, or opera, or all three, among themselves, and overpay the charge, as shall hereafter be specified?

For example, we will suppose such a design to be continued for ten years, we shall find an orchestra of forty hands, and a choir or opera of twenty voices, or admitting that of those twenty only five prove capital singers, it will answer the intent.

For the greater variety they may, if they think fit, take in two or more of their girls, where they find a promising genius, but this may be further considered of.

Now, when they are enabled to exhibit an opera,

will they not gain considerably when their voices and hands cost them only a college subsistence? and it is but reasonable the profits accruing from operas, concerts, or otherwise, should go to the hospital, to make good all former and future expenses, and enable them to extend the design to a greater length and grandeur; so that instead of 1,500*l.* per annum, the price of one Italian singer, we shall for 300*l.* once in ten years, have sixty English musicians regularly educated, and enabled to live by their science.

There ought, moreover, to be annual probations, and proper prizes or premiums allotted, to excite emulation in the youths, and give life to their studies.

They have already a music school, as they call it, but the allowance is too poor for this design, and the attendance too small, it must be every day, or not at all.

This will be an academy indeed, and in process of time they will have even their masters among themselves; and what is the charge, compared with the profits, or their abilities?

One thing I had like to have forgot, which is, that with permission of the right reverend the lords spiritual, some performance in music, suitable to the solemnity of the day, be exhibited every Sunday after divine service. Sacred poesy, and rhetoric may be likewise introduced to make it an entertainment suitable to a Christain and polite audience; and indeed we seem to want some such commendable employment for the better sort; for we see the public walks and taverns crowded, and rather than be idle, they will go to Newport market.

That such an entertainment would be much preferable to drinking, gaming, or profane discourse, none can deny; and till it is proved to be prejudicial,

I shall always imagine it necessary. The hall at the hospital will contain few less than seven hundred people, conveniently seated, which at so small a price as one shilling per head, will amount to 35*l.* per week; and if the performance deserve it, as no doubt it will in time, they may make it half a crown, or more, which must considerably increase the income of the hospital.

When they are able to make an opera, the profits will be yet more considerable, nor will they reap much less from what the youths bring in during their apprenticeship, when employed at concerts, theatres, or other public entertainments.

Having advanced what I think proper on this head, or at least enough for a hint, I proceed to offer,

That many youths and servants may be saved from destruction were the streets cleared of shameless and impudent strumpets, gaming tables totally suppressed, and a stop put to sabbath debauches.

The corruption of our children and servants is of importance sufficient to require our utmost precaution; and moreover, women servants (commonly called maid-servants) are such necessary creatures, that it is by no means below us to make them beneficial rather than prejudicial to us.

I shall not run into a description of their abuses; we know enough of those already. Our business now is to make them useful, first by ascertaining their wages at a proper standard.

Secondly, by obliging them to continue longer in service, not to stroll about from place to place, and throw themselves on the town on every dislike.

Thirdly, to prevent their being harboured by

wicked persons, when out of place; or living too long on their own hands.

As for their wages, they have topped upon us already, and doubled them in spite of our teeth; but as they have had wit euough to get them, so will they, I doubt not, have the same sense to keep them, and much good may it do those indolent over-secure persons, who have given them this advantage. However, if they are honest and diligent, I would have them encouraged, and handsome wages allowed them; because, by this means, we provide for the children of the inferior class of people, who otherwise could not maintain themselves; nay, sometimes tradesmen, &c., reduced, are glad when their children cease to hang upon them, by getting into service, and by that means not only maintaining themselves, but being of use in other families. But then there ought to be some medium, some limitation to their wages, or they may extort more than can well be afforded.

Nothing calls for more redress than their quitting service for every idle disgust, leaving a master or mistress at a nonplus, and all under plea of a foolish old custom, called warning, nowhere practised but in London; for in other places they are hired by the year, or by the statute as they call it, which settles them in a place, at least for some time; whereas, when they are not limited, it encourages a roving temper, and makes them never easy.

If you turn them away without warning, they will make you pay a month's wages, be the provocation or offence never so great; but if they leave you, though never so abruptly, or unprovided, help yourselves how you can, there is no redress; though I think there ought, in all conscience, to be as much law for the master as for the servant.

No servant should quit a place where they are

well fed and paid, without assigning a good reason before a magistrate. On the other hand, they should receive no abuse which should not be redressed; for we ought to treat them as servants, not slaves; and a medium ought to be observed on both sides. But if they are not restrained from quitting service on every vagary, they will throw themselves on the town, and not only ruin themselves, but others; for example, a girl quits a place and turns whore; if there is not a bastard to be murdered, or left to the parish, there is one or more unwary youths drawn in to support her in lewdness and idleness; in order to which, they rob their parents and masters, nay, sometimes, anybody else, to support their strumpets; so that many thieves owe their ruin and shameful deaths to harlots; not to mention the communication of loathsome distempers, and innumerable other evils, to which they give birth.

How many youths, of all ranks, are daily ruined? and how justly may be dreaded the loss of as many more, if a speedy stop be not put to this growing evil? Generations to come will curse the neglect of the present, and every sin committed for the future may be passed to our account, if we do not use our endeavours to the contrary.

And unless we prevent our maid-servants from being harboured by wicked persons when out of place, or living too long on their own hands, our streets will swarm with impudent shameless strumpets; the good will be molested; those prone to evil will be made yet more wicked, by having temptations thrown in their way; and, to crown all, we shall have scarce a servant left, but our wives, &c., must do the household-work themselves.

If this be not worthy the consideration of a legislature, I would fain know what is. Is it not time to limit their wages, when they are grown so wanton

they know not what to ask? Is it not time to fix them, when they stroll from place to place, and we are hardly sure of a servant a month together? Is it not time to prevent the increase of harlots, by making it penal for servants to be harboured in idleness, and tempted to theft, whoredom, murder, &c., by living too long out of place? and I am sure it is high time to begin the work, by clearing the public streets of night-walkers, who are grown to such a pitch of impudence that peace and common decency are manifestly broken in our public streets. I wonder this has so long escaped the eye of the magistrate, especially when there are already in force laws sufficient to restrain this tide of uncleanness, which will one day overflow us.

The lewdest people upon earth, ourselves excepted, are not guilty of such open violations of the laws of decency. Go all the world over, and you will see no such impudence as in the streets of London, which makes many foreigners give our women in general a bad character, from the vile specimens they meet with from one end of the town to the other. Our sessions' papers are full of the trials of impudent sluts, who first decoy men and then rob them; a meanness the courtesans of Rome and Venice abhor.

How many honest women, those of the inferior sort especially, get loathsome distempers from their husband's commerce with these creatures, which distempers are often entailed on posterity; nor have we an hospital separated for that purpose, which does not contain too many instances of honest poor wretches made miserable by villains of husbands.

And now I have mentioned the villainy of some husbands in the lower state of life, give me leave to propose, or at least to wish, that they were restrained from abusing their wives at that barbarous rate,

which is now practised by butchers, carmen, and such inferior sort of fellows, who are public nuisances to civil neighbourhoods, and yet nobody cares to interpose, because the riot is between a man and his wife.

I see no reason why every profligate fellow shall have the liberty to disturb a whole neighbourhood, and abuse a poor honest creature at a most inhuman rate, and is not to be called to account because it is his wife; this sort of barbarity was never so notorious and so much encouraged as at present, for every vagabond thinks he may cripple his wife at pleasure; and it is enough to pierce a heart of stone to see how barbarously some poor creatures are beaten and abused by merciless dogs of husbands.

It gives an ill example to the growing generation, and this evil will gain ground on us if not prevented; it may be answered, the law has already provided redress, and a woman abused may swear the peace against her husband, but what woman cares to do that? It is revenging herself on herself, and not without considerable charge and trouble.

There ought to be a shorter way, and when a man has beaten his wife, which by the by is a most unmanly action, and great sign of cowardice, it behoves every neighbour who has the least humanity or compassion, to complain to the next justice of the peace, who should be empowered to set him in the stocks for the first offence; to have him well scourged at the whipping-post for the second; and if he persisted in his barbarous abuse of the holy marriage state, to send him to the house of correction till he should learn to use more mercy to his yoke-fellow.

How hard is it for a poor industrious woman to be up early and late, to sit in a cold shop, stall, or market, all weathers, to carry heavy loads from one end of the town to the other, or to work from

morning till night, and even then dread going home for fear of being murdered? Some may think this too low a topic for me to expatiate upon, to which I answer, that it is a charitable and Christian one, and therefore not in the least beneath the consideration of any man who had a woman for his mother.

The mention of this leads me to exclaim against the vile practice now so much in vogue among the better sort as they are called, but the worst sort in fact; namely, the sending their wives to madhouses, at every whim or dislike, that they may be more secure and undisturbed in their debaucheries ; which wicked custom is got to such a head, that the number of private madhouses in and about London are considerably increased within these few years.

This is the height of barbarity and injustice in a Christian country, it is a clandestine inquisition, nay worse.

How many ladies and gentlewomen are hurried away to these houses, which ought to be suppressed, or at least subject to daily examination, as hereafter shall be proposed ?

How many, I say, of beauty, virtue, and fortune, are suddenly torn from their dear innocent babes, from the arms of an unworthy man, whom they love, perhaps, but too well, and who in return for that love, nay probably an ample fortune and a lovely offspring besides, grows weary of the pure streams of chaste love, and thirsting after the puddles of lawless lust, buries his virtuous wife alive, that he may have the greater freedom with his mistresses ?

If they are not mad when they go into these cursed houses, they are soon made so by the barbarous usage they there suffer ; and any woman of spirit, who has the least love for her husband, or concern for her family, cannot sit down tamely

under a confinement and separation the most unaccountable and unreasonable.

Is it not enough to make any one mad to be suddenly clapped up, stripped, whipped, ill-fed, and worse used? To have no reason assigned for such treatment, no crime alleged, or accusers to confront? And what is worse, no soul to appeal to but merciless creatures, who answer but in laughter, surliness, contradiction, and too often stripes?

All conveniences for writing are denied, no messenger to be had to carry a letter to any relation or friend; and if this tyrannical inquisition, joined with the reasonable reflections a woman of any common understanding must necessarily make, be not sufficient to drive any soul stark staring mad, though before they were never so much in their right senses, I have no more to say.

When by this means a wicked husband has driven a poor creature mad, and robbed an injured wife of her reason, for it is much easier to create than to cure madness, then has the villain a handle for his roguery; then, perhaps, he will admit her distressed relations to see her, when it is too late to cure the madness he so artfully and barbarously has procured.

But this is not all: sometimes more dismal effects attend this inquisition, for death is but too often the cure of their madness and end of their sorrows; some with ill usage, some with grief, and many with both, are barbarously cut off in the prime of their years and flower of their health, who otherwise might have been mothers of a numerous issue, and survived many years. This is murder in the deepest sense, and much more cruel than dagger or poison, because more lingering; they die by piecemeal, and in all the agonies and terrors of a distracted mind.

Nay, it is murder upon murder, for the issue that might have been begot is to be accounted for to God and the public. Now, if this kind of murder is connived at, we shall no doubt have enough, nay, too much of it; for if a man is weary of his wife, has spent her fortune, and wants another, it is but sending her to a madhouse and the business is done at once.

How many have already been murdered after this manner is best known to just Heaven, and those unjust husbands and their damned accomplices, who, though now secure in their guilt, will one day find it is murder of the blackest dye, has the least claim to mercy, and calls aloud for the severest vengeance.

How many are yet to be sacrificed, unless a speedy stop be put to this most accursed practice, I tremble to think; our legislature cannot take this cause too soon in hand. This surely cannot be below their notice, and it will be an easy matter at once to suppress all these pretended madhouses. Indulge, gentle reader, for once the doting of an old man, and give him leave to lay down his little system without arraigning him of arrogance or ambition to be a lawgiver. In my humble opinion, all private madhouses should be suppressed at once, and it should be no less than felony to confine any person under pretence of madness without due authority.

For the cure of those who are really lunatic, licensed madhouses should be constituted in convenient parts of the town, which houses should be subject to proper visitation and inspection, nor should any person be sent to a madhouse without due reason, inquiry, and authority.

It may be objected, by persons determined to contradict every thing and approve nothing, that

the abuses complained of are not so numerous or heinous as I would insinuate. Why are not facts advanced, they will be apt to say, to give a face of truth to these assertions? But I have two reasons to the contrary; the first is, the more you convince them, the more angry you make them, for they are never better pleased than when they have an opportunity of finding fault; therefore, to curry favour with the fault-finders, I have left them a loophole: the second and real is, because I do not care to bring an old house over my head by mentioning particular names or special cases, thereby drawing myself into vexatious prosecutions and suits at law from litigious wretches, who would be galled to find their villanies made public, and stick at no expense or foul play to revenge themselves. Not but I could bring many instances, particularly of an unhappy widow, put in by a villain of a husband, and now continued in for the sake of her jointure by her unnatural son, far from common honesty or humanity. Of another, whose husband keeps his mistress in black velvet, and is seen with her every night at the opera or play, while his poor wife (by much the finer woman, and of an understanding far superior to her thick-skulled tyrant,) is kept mean in diet and apparel; nay, ill-used into the bargain, notwithstanding her fortune supplies all the villain's extravagances, and he has not a shilling but what came from her: but a beggar when once set on horseback proves always the most unmerciful rider.

I cannot leave this subject without inserting one particular case.

A lady of known beauty, virtue, and fortune, nay more, of wisdom, not flashy wit, was, in the prime of her youth and beauty, and when her senses were perfectly sound, carried by her husband in his coach

as to the opera ; but the coachmam had other instructions, and drove directly to a madhouse, where the poor innocent lady was no sooner introduced, under pretence of calling by the way to see some pictures he had a mind to buy, but the key was turned upon her, and she left a prisoner by her faithless husband, who while his injured wife was confined and used with the utmost barbarity, he, like a profligate wretch, ran through her fortune with strumpets, and then basely, under pretence of giving her liberty, extorted her to make over her jointure, which she had no sooner done but he laughed in her face, and left her to be as ill-used as ever. This he soon ran through, and (happily for the lady) died by the justice of heaven in a salvation his debauches had obliged him to undergo.

During her confinement, the villain of the madhouse frequently attempted her chastity ; and the more she repulsed him the worse he treated her, till at last he drove her mad in good earnest. Her distressed brother, who is fond of her to the last degree, now confines her in part of his own house, treating her with great tenderness, but has the mortification to be assured by the ablest physicians that his poor sister is irrecoverably distracted.

Numberless are the instances I could produce, but they would be accounted fictitious, because I do not name the particular persons, for the reasons before assigned ; but the sufferings of these poor ladies are not fictitious, nor are the villany of the madhouses, or the unnatural, though fashionable barbarity of husbands, chimeras, but too solid grievances, and manifest violations of the laws of God and man.

Most gracious and august queen Caroline ! ornament of your sex, and pride of the British nation ! the best of mothers, the best of wives, the

best of women! Begin this auspicious reign with an action worthy your illustrious self, rescue your injured sex from this tyranny, nor let it be in the power of every brutal husband to cage and confine his wife at pleasure, a practice scarce heard of till of late years. Nip it in the bud, most gracious queen, and draw on yourself the blessings of numberless of the fair sex, now groaning under the severest and most unjust bondage. Restore them to their families; let them, by your means, enjoy light and liberty; that while they fondly embrace, and with tears of joy weep over their dear children, so long withheld from them, they may invoke accumulated blessings from heaven upon your royal head!

And you, ye fair illustrious circle! who adorn the British court! and every day surround our gracious queen: let generous pity inspire your souls, and move you to intercede with your noble consorts for redress in this injurious affair. Who can deny when you become suitors? and who knows but at your request a bill may be brought into the house to regulate these abuses? The cause is a noble and a common one, and ought to be espoused by every lady who would claim the least title to virtue or compassion. I am sure no honest member in either honourable house will be against so reasonable a bill; the business is for some public-spirited patriot to break the ice by bringing it into the house, and I dare lay my life it passes.

I must beg my reader's indulgence, being the most immethodical writer imaginable. It is true I lay down a scheme, but fancy is so fertile I often start fresh hints, and cannot but pursue them; pardon therefore, kind reader, my digressive way of writing, and let the subject, not the style or method, engage thy attention.

Return we, therefore, to complain of destructive gaming-houses, the bane of our youth, and ruin of our children and servants.

This is the most unprofitable evil upon earth, for it only tends to alienate the proper current of specie, to maintain a pack of idle sharpening rascals, and beggar unwary gentlemen and traders.

I take the itch of gaming to be the most pernicious of vices, it is a kind of avaricious madness; and if people have not sense to command themselves by reason, they ought to be restrained by law; nor suffered to ruin themselves and families, to enrich a crew of sharpers.

There is no playing on the square with these villains; they are sure to cheat you, either by sleight of hand, confederacy, or false dice, &c.; they have so much the odds of their infatuated bubbles, that they might safely play a guinea to a shilling, and yet be sure of winning. This is but genteel pocket picking, or felony with another name, and yet, so fond are we of it, that from the footboy to the lord, all must have a touch of gaming; and there are sharpers of different stations and denominations, from Southwark-fair to the groom porters. Shame, that gentlemen should suffer every scoundrel to mix with them for gaming sake! And equal shame, that honest laborious tradesmen should be obstructed in crossing the public streets, by the gilt chariots of vagabond gamesters; who now infest the land, and brave even our nobility and gentry with their own money.

But the most barbarous part of this hellish trade is what they call setting of young gentlemen, apprentices, and others; this ought to be deemed felony without benefit of clergy; for it is the worst of thievery. Under pretence of taking a bottle, or spending an evening gaily, they draw their cull to the tavern, where they sit not long before the devil's

bones or books are found accidentally on purpose, by the help of which they strip my gentleman in an instant, and then generously lend him his own money, to lose afresh, and create a debt which is but too often more justly paid than those more justly due.

If we look into some late bankruptcies we shall find some noted gamesters the principal creditors ; I think, in such cases it would be but justice to make void the gamester's debt, and subject his estate to make good the deficiencies of the bankrupt's effects. If traders have no more wit, the public should have pity on them ; and make it as penal to lose as to win ; and, in truth, if cards, dice, &c., were totally suppressed, industry and arts would increase the more ; gaming may make a man crafty, but not polite ; one may understand cards and dice perfectly well, and be a blockhead in everything else.

I am sorry to see it so prevalent in the city among the trading part of mankind, who have introduced it into their clubs, and play so high of late that many bankrupts have been made by this pernicious practice.

It is the bane of all conversation ; and those who can't sit an hour without gaming, should never go into a club to spoil company. In a word, it is mere madness, and a most stupid thing to hazard one's fortune, and perplex one's mind ; nay, to sit up whole nights, poring over toys of pipped ivory and painted pasteboard, making ourselves worse than little children, whose innocent sports we so much ridicule.

To sum up all, I think it would be a noble retribution, to subject gamesters' estates to the use and support of the poor widows and orphans of their unfortunate bubbles.

Sunday debauches are abuses that call loud for

amendment ; it is in this pernicious soil the seeds of ruin are first sown. Instead of a day of rest, we make it a day of labour, by toiling in the devil's vineyard ; and but too many surfeit themselves with the fruits of gluttony, drunkenness, and uncleanness.

Not that I am so superciliously strict, to have the sabbath kept as rigidly here as in Scotland, but then there ought to be a medium between the severity of a fast, and the riot of Saturnalia. Instead of a decent and cheerful solemnity, our taverns and publichouses have more business that day than all the week beside. Our apprentices plume themselves ; nay, some scruple not to put on their swords and tie wigs, or toupees, and the loose end of the town is their rendezvous, Sunday being market-day all round the hundreds of Drury.

While we want servants to do our work, those hundreds, as they call them, are crowded with numbers of idle impudent sluts, who love sporting more than spinning, and inveigle our youth to their ruin ; nay, many old lechers, beasts as they are ! steal from their families, and seek these harlots' lurking holes, to practise their unaccountable schemes of new invented lewdnesses ; some half hang themselves, others are whipped, some lie under a table and gnaw the bones that are thrown them, while others stand slaving among a parcel of drabs at a washing tub. Strange that the inclination should not die with the power, but that old fools should make themselves the prey and ridicule of a pack of strumpets !

Some heedless youths are wheedled into marriage, which makes them and their unhappy parents miserable all their lives ; others are drawn into extravagancies, and but too often run into their master's cash, and for fear of a discovery, make away with themselves, or at least run away and leave their

distracted parents in a thousand tears ; not to mention the frustration of their fortune, and the miseries that attend a vagabond life. Thus honest parents lose their children, and traders their apprentices, and all from a liberty we have of late given our youth of rambling abroad on Sundays ; for many, nowadays will lie out all night, or stay out so late to give no small disturbance in sober families. It therefore behoves every master of a family to have his servants under his eye ; and if the going to church, meeting, or whatever place of worship suited their religion, were more enforced, it would be so much the better.

In short, the luxury of the age will be the ruin of the nation, if not prevented. We leave trade to game in stocks ; we live above ourselves, and barter our ready money for trifles ; tea and wine are all we seem anxious for, and God has given the blessings of life to an ungrateful people, who despise their own productions. Our very plough-fellows drink wine nowadays ; our farmers, graziers, and butchers, are above malt liquors ; and the wholesome breakfast of water-gruel and milk potage is changed for coffee and tea. This is the reason provisions and corn, &c., are so dear ; we all work for vintners, and raise our prices one upon another to such a degree, it will be an impossibility to live, and we shall, of course, become our own devourers.

We strain at a gnat and swallow a camel ; and, in this instance, the publichouses are kept open to furnish our luxury, while we deny ourselves other necessaries of life, out of a scruple of conscience. For example ; in extreme hot weather, when meat will not keep from Saturday to Sunday, we throw, or cause to be thrown away, vast quantities of tainted meat, and have generally stinking dinners, because the butchers dare not sell a joint of meat on a Sun-

day morning. Now, though I would not have the Sabbath so far violated as to have it a market-day, yet, rather than abuse God's mercies by throwing away creatures given for our use, nay, for our own healths and cleanliness sake, I would have the same indulgence in extreme hot weather, as there is for milk and mackerel ; that is to say, that meat might be killed in the cool of the morning, viz., one or two of the clock, and sold till nine, and no longer ; nor should villainous informers have power to molest them in this innocent and reasonable amendment of a ridiculous vulgar error.

I cannot forbear taking notice of the extravagant use, or rather abuse, of that nauseous liquor called Geneva, among our lower sort. Those who deny that an inferior class of people are most necessary in a body politic, contradict reason and experience itself, since they are most useful when industrious, and as pernicious when lazy. By their industry our manufactures, trade, and commerce are carried on ; the merchant in his counting-house, and the captain in his cabin, would find but little employment were it not that many hands carried on the different branches of the concern they superintended.

But now, so far are our common people infatuated with Geneva, that half the work is not done now as formerly. It debilitates and enervates them, and they are not near so strong and healthy as formerly. This accursed liquor is in itself so diuretic, it over-strains the parts of generation, and makes our common people incapable of getting such lusty children as they used to do. Add to this, that the women, by drinking it, spoil their milk, and by giving it to young children, as they foolishly do, spoil the stomach, and hinder digestion ; so that in less than an age, we may expect a fine spindlegashed generation.

There is not in nature so unhealthy a liquor as Geneva, especially as commonly sold ; it curdles the blood, it stupifies the senses, it weakens the nerves, it spoils the eyesight, and entirely ruins the stomach ; nay, some stomachs have been rendered so cold by the use of Geneva, that lamp spirits have not been a dram warm enough for them. Surely they will come to drink aquafortis at last !

On the contrary, our own malt liquors, especially common draught beer, is most wholesome and nourishing, and has brought up better generations than the present : it is strengthening, cooling, and balsamic ; it helps digestion, and carries nourishment with it ; and, in spite of the whims of some physicians, is most pertinent to a human, especially a good wholesome English, constitution. Nay, the honest part of the faculty deny not the use of small beer, well brewed, even in fevers. I, myself, have found great benefit by it ; and if it be good in its kind, it is the finest jalap upon earth.

If this abuse of Geneva be not stopped, we may go whoop for husbandmen, labourers, &c. Trade must consequently stand still, and the credit of the nation sink ; nor is the abatement of the excise, though very considerable, and most worthy notice, any ways comparable to the corruption of manners, the destruction of health, and all the train of evils we are threatened with from pernicious Geneva.

An effectual method to prevent street robberies.

THE principal encouragements and opportunity given to street robbers is, that our streets are so poorly watched ; the watchmen, for the most part, being decrepit, superannuated wretches, with one foot in the grave and the other ready to follow ; so

feeble that a puff of breath can blow them down. Poor crazy mortals! much fitter for an almshouse than a watchhouse. A city watched and guarded by such animals is wretchedly watched indeed.

Nay, so little terror do our watchmen carry with them, that hardy thieves make a mere jest of them, and sometimes oblige even the very watchman who should apprehend them to light them in their roguery. And what can a poor creature do, in terror of his life, surrounded by a pack of ruffians, and no assistance near?

Add to this, that our rogues are grown more wicked than ever, and vice in all kinds is so much winked at, that robbery is accounted a petty crime. We take pains to puff them up in their villany, and thieves are set out in so amiable a light in the Beggar's Opera, that it has taught them to value themselves on their profession rather than be ashamed of it.

There was some cessation of street robberies, from the time of Bunworth and Blewitt's execution, until the introduction of this pious opera. Now we find the Cartouchian villanies revived, and London, that used to be the most safe and peaceful city in the universe, is now a scene of rapine and danger. If some of Cartouch's gang be not come over to instruct our thieves, and propagate their schemes, we have, doubtless, a Cartouch of our own, and a gang which, if not suppressed, may be full as pernicious as ever Cartouch's was, and London will be as dangerous as Paris, if due care be not taken.

We ought to begin our endeavours to suppress these villanies, first by heavenly, and then by earthly means.

By heavenly means, in enforcing and encouraging a reformation of manners, by suppressing of vice and immorality, and punishing profaneness and

licentiousness. Our youth are corrupted by filthy, lewd ballads, sung and sold publicly in our streets ; nay, unlicensed and unstamped, notwithstanding acts of parliament to the contrary.

Coachmen, carmen, &c., are indulged in swearing after the most blasphemous, shocking, and unaccountable rate that ever was known. New oaths and blasphemies are daily uttered and invented ; and rather than not exercise this hellish talent, they will vent their curses on their very horses ; and, oh stupid ! damn the blood of a post, rather than want something to curse.

Our common women, too, have learned this vice ; and not only strumpets, but labouring women, who keep our markets, and vend things about street, swear and curse at a most hideous rate. Their children learn it from their parents, and those of the middle, or even the better sort of people, if they pass through the streets to school, or to play, catch the infection, and carry home such words as must consequently be very shocking to sober parents.

Our youth, in general, have too much liberty ; the Sabbath is not kept with due solemnity ; masters and mistresses of families are too remiss in the care of the souls committed to their charge. Family prayer is neglected ; and, to the shame of scoffers be it spoken, too much ridiculed. All ages and sexes, if in health, should be obliged to attend public worship, according to their respective opinions. Were it only to keep youth out of harm's way it would do well. But it is to be hoped, if their parents, masters, or mistresses, should oblige their attendance at public devotion, they would edify by what they should hear, and many wicked acts would be stifled in their infancy, and checked even in the intention, by good and useful doctrine.

Our common people make it a day of debauch,

and get so drunk on a Sunday they cannot work for a day or two following. Nay, since the use of Geneva has become so common, many get so often drunk they cannot work at all, but run from one irregularity to another, till at last they become arrant rogues. And this is the foundation of all our present complaints.

We will suppose a man able to maintain himself and family by his trade, and at the same time to be a Geneva drinker. This fellow first makes himself incapable of working by being continually drunk ; this runs him behindhand, and he either pawns or neglects his work, for which reason nobody will employ him. At last, fear of arrests, his own hunger, the cries of his family for bread, his natural desire to support an irregular life, and a propense hatred to labour, turn but too many an honest tradesman into an arrant desperate rogue. And these are commonly the means that furnish us with thieves and villains in general.

Thus is a man, that might be useful in a body politic, rendered obnoxious to the same : and if this trade of wickedness goes on, they will grow and increase upon us, insomuch that we shall not dare to stir out of our habitations ; nay, it will be well if they arrive not to the impudence of plundering our houses at noonday.

Where is the courage of the English nation, that a gentleman, with six or seven servants, shall be robbed by one single highwayman ? Yet we have lately had instances of this ; and for this we may thank our effeminacy, our toupee wigs, and powdered pates, our tea, and other scandalous fopperies ; and, above all, the disuse of noble and manly sports, so necessary to a brave people, once in vogue, but now totally lost among us.

Let not the reader think I run from my subject

if I search the bottom of the distemper before I propose a cure, which having done, though indeed but slightly, for this is an argument could be carried to a much greater length, I proceed next to propose earthly means in the manner following.

Let the watch be composed of stout able-bodied men, and of those at least treble the number now subsisting, that is to say, a watchman to every forty houses, twenty on one side of the way, and twenty on the other; for it is observable that a man cannot well see distinctly beyond the extent of twenty houses in a row; if it is a single row, and no opposite houses, the charge must be greater and their safety less. This man should be elected and paid by the housekeepers themselves, to prevent misapplication and abuse, so much complained of in the distribution of public money.

He should be allowed ten shillings per annum by each housekeeper, which at forty houses, as above specified, amounts to 20*l.* per annum, almost treble to what is at present allowed; and yet most housekeepers are charged at least 2*s.* 6*d.* a quarter to the watch, whose beat is, generally speaking, little less than the compass of half a mile.

This salary is something of encouragement, and a pretty settlement to a poor man, who with frugality may live decently thereon, and by due rest be enabled to give vigilant attendance.

If a housekeeper break, or a house is empty, the poor watchman ought not to suffer, the deficiency should be made up by the housekeepers remaining.

Or, indeed, all housekeepers might be excused, if a tax of only one shilling per annum were levied on every bachelor within the bills of mortality, and above the age of one-and-twenty, who is not a housekeeper: for these young sparks are a kind of unprofitable gentry to the state; they claim public

safety and advantages, and yet pay nothing to the public; nay, indeed, they in a manner live upon the public, for (on a Sunday especially) at least a million of these gentlemen quarter themselves upon the married men, and rob many families of part of a week's provision, more particularly when they play a good knife and fork, and are of the family of the Tuckers.

I beg pardon for this whimsical proposal, which, ludicrous as it seems, has something in it; and may be improved. Return we, in the mean time, to our subject.

The watch thus stationed, strengthened, and encouraged, let every watchman be armed with fire-arms and sword; and let no watchman stand above twenty doors distant from his fellow.

Let each watchman be provided with a bugle-horn, to sound on alarm, or in time of danger; and let it be made penal, if not felony, for any but a watchman to sound a horn in and about the city, from the time of their going on, to that of their going off.

An objection will be here made on account of the postboys, to obviate which, I had thoughts of a bell, but that would be too ponderous and troublesome for a watchman to carry, besides his arms and lantern. As to a fixed bell, if the watchman is at another part of his walk, how can he give notice? Besides, rogues may play tricks with the bell; whereas a horn is portable, always ready, and most alarming.

Let the postboys therefore use some other signal, since this is most convenient to this more material purpose. They may carry a bell in a holster with ease, and give notice by that, as well as those who collect the letters.

That the watchmen may see from one end of

their walks to the other, let a convenient number of lamps be set up, and those not of the convex kind, which blind the eyes, and are of no manner of use ; they dazzle, but give no distinct light : and further, rather than prevent robberies, many, deceived and blinded by these *ignes fatui*, have been run over by coaches, carts, &c. People stumble more upon one another, even under these very lamps, than in the dark. In short, they are most unprofitable lights, and in my opinion, rather abuses than benefits.

Besides, I see no reason why every ten housekeepers cannot find a lamp among themselves, and let their watchman dress it, rather than fatten a crew of directors ; but we are so fond of companies, it is a wonder we have not our shoes blacked by one, and a set of directors made rich at the expense of our very black-guards. Convenient turnpikes and stoppages may be made to prevent escapes, and it will be proper for a watchman to be placed at one of these, fixed at the end of a lane, court, alley, or other thoroughfare, which may happen in any part of his beat, and so as not to obstruct his view to both ends thereof, or being able to give notice, as aforesaid ; for the watch ought to be in view, as well as in the hearing of each other, or they may be overpowered, and much danger may happen.

The streets thus guarded and illuminated, what remains but that the money allotted by the government be instantly paid on conviction of every offender ; for delays in this case are of dangerous consequence, and nobody will venture their lives in hopes of a reward, if it be not duly and timely paid. If there is reason of complaint on this head, it ought to be looked into by those at the helm ; for nothing can be more vile than for underlings to abuse the

benevolence of the public, or their superiors, by sinking, abridging, or delaying public or private benefits. And it is by no means below the dignity or care, even of the greatest, to see the disposal of their own bounty and charity; for it loses but too often by the carriage: and where a nobleman or other generous person has ordered five guineas to be given, it is well if the proper object has had even one.

Something allowed by the Chamber of London to every person apprehending a robber, would have a good effect, especially if it be not told over a gridiron, but paid without delay or abatement. And what if the fewer custards are eat, so it augment the public safety.

Some of our common soldiery are, and I hope unjustly, suspected. This may be easily confuted, if strict orders are enforced, that none but commission or warrant officers shall be out of their quarters after ten at night. But if we consider, that neither Blewit, Bunworth, or their gangs, were soldiers, and that of those who have been executed for ten years past, not one in ten were soldiers, but, on the contrary, seamen discharged and thrown on the public without present subsistence, which makes them desperate; but I hope the act now depending for the encouragement of seamen, &c., will sufficiently remove that obstacle also. This, I hope, will stop the mouths of censorious persons, who unjustly arraign our soldiery for the vices of others. However, to make all easy, I believe the generality of them will gladly submit to the restraint proposed, merely to show their innocence.

Mean time, would his most sacred majesty let them partake of his bounty, as the officers, &c., have done, and raise their pay, were it but one

penny *per diem*, it would be a most royal bounty, would considerably contribute to their support, and put them above any sordid views: and there was never more occasion than now, when provisions of all kinds are so excessive dear.

Having offered my little mite to the public, I beg they will excuse the deficiency of my style, and multitude of my errors, for my intention's sake. I write without prospect of gain; if I am censured, it is what I can but expect; but if among all my schemes one proves of service, my desires and labours are amply answered.

Omissions.

IN my scheme for an university in London I proposed only a hall or public room; on recollection I find it should be a large house or inn, in the nature of a college, with store of convenient rooms for gentlemen, not only to study separately, but wherein to lodge their books, for it would be most inconvenient to lug them backwards and forwards. They may indeed breakfast, sup, and sleep at home, but it will be highly necessary they should dine in commons, or at least near the college; not that I would have cooks, butlers, caterers, manciples, and the whole train of college cannibals retained; but for fear they should stay too long at home, or be hindered from returning to study in due time, some proper place or person might be pitched upon to keep an ordinary, at a prefixed price and hour, and for the students only.

My reasons are these:—

First, A young gentleman may live too far from college.

Second, The college hours for dinner may not agree with those of the family.

Third, Company may drop in and detain him.

These being, I think, the only material objections could be offered, I hope I have amply provided against them, and rendered my project more perfect and unexceptionable.

One omission I made in the discourse on madhouses, &c., is, that maiden ladies as well as widows and wives are liable to the inquisition there complained of, and I am informed a good estate is lately come to a worthless family by the death, or rather murder, of an innocent young creature, who being left very rich, chose to live with her friends ; but well had it been for her had she taken up her abode among strangers, for they staved off all proposals for marriage a considerable time, and when at last they found the lady would not be hindered from altering her condition, she was hurried away to a madhouse, where she miserably ended her days, while they rioted in the pillage of her fortune. Thus neither maid, wife, or widow, are safe while these accursed madhouses are suffered ; nay, I see no reason, if the age improves in wickedness, as in all probability it may, but the men, *per contra*, may take their turns. Younger brothers, &c., may clap up their elders, and jump into their estates, for there are no questions asked at these madhouses, but who is the paymaster, and how much ; give them but their price, mad or not mad, it is no matter whom they confine ; so that if any person lives longer than his relations think convenient, they know their remedy ; it is but sending them to a madhouse and the estate is their own.

Having answered all that I think liable to objection, and recollecting what I had omitted, I desire to stand or fall by the judgment of the serious part of mankind ; wherein they shall correct me I will kiss the rod and suffer with patience ; but if a pack of hackney scribblers shall attack me only by way of a get-penny, I shall not be provoked to answer them, be they never so scurrilous, lest I be accounted as one of them.

TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL
SAMUEL ROBINSON.

SIR,

I SHALL congratulate you on your election into the chamberlainship of the city of London, or otherwise, as you shall acquit yourself in answering candidly and impartially to the following queries.

I. whether there is not money sufficient in the chamber of London to pay off the orphan's fund ? Or if not a sufficient sum, what sum it is, and what is the deficiency ? How long it has lain there, and what interest has been made upon it ?

II. If there are not considerable arrears due from many wards, and what those arrears are ?

III. Who are these poor orphans we pay so much money to ? and whether they are not some of the richest men in the city of London, who have got the stock into their own hands, and find it so snug a fund they do not care to get out of it.

IV. If it would not be much better to gather in the arrears, join them to the money in the office, and collect the overplus at once, rather than suffer the tax to become eternal, and to pay so much interest.

This is but a reasonable request ; and if colonel Robinson is the honest gentleman fame reports him to be, he will make no scruple to give a ready answer. And indeed it will be but a handsome return made to his fellow citizens for their choice of

him, to begin his office with such an act of justice, honesty, and public satisfaction, for many people do not know what is meant by the orphan's tax; they pay it with remorse, and think themselves aggrieved. Even those who know the reason of the fund think it has been continued long enough, wish it were once paid off, suspect some secret in the affair, and give their tongues the liberty all losers claim; Our fathers, say they, have eaten sour grapes, and our teeth are set on edge, we are visited for their transgressions, and may be to the world's end, unless we shall find an honest chamberlain who will unveil this cloudy affair, and gives us a prospect of relief.

Thus, sir, it lies at your door to gain the applause of the whole city, a few misers excepted, by a generous and gentlemanlike discovery of this affair. And you are thus publicly called upon, that your discovery may be as public and beneficial to all. If you comply, I shall think you an honest man, above a fellow feeling, or being biassed, and most worthy your office; if not, give me leave to think, the citizens of London have made but an indifferent choice.

I am,

Sir,

Yours, as you prove yourself,

ANDREW MORETON.

Sept. 23,
1728.

SECOND
THOUGHTS ARE BEST:

OR A

FURTHER IMPROVEMENT

Of a Late

S C H E M E

TO PREVENT

STREET ROBBERIES:

BY WHICH

Our Streets will be strongly guarded, and so gloriously illuminated, that any part of London will be as safe and pleasant at Midnight as at Noon-day; and Burglary totally impracticable:

With

Some Thoughts for suppressing Robberies in all the Public Roads of England, &c.

Humbly

Offered for the Good of his Country, submitted to the Consideration of the Parliament, and dedicated to his sacred Majesty King GEORGE II.

By ANDREW MORETON, Esq.

L O N D O N .

Printed for W. MEADOWS, at the Angel in Cornhill;
and sold by J. ROBERTS, in Warwick-Lane.
1729. [Price Six Pence.]

TO THE
K I N G ' S
Most Excellent
M A J E S T Y,
SACRED AND MOST AUGUST !

PERMIT a loyal subject, in the sincerity of his heart, to press through the crowds of courtiers who surround your royal person, and lay his little mite, humbly offered for the public welfare, at your majesty's feet.

Happy is it for me, as well as the whole kingdom, we have a king of such humanity and affability ; a king naturalized to us, a king who loves us, a king in whose person as well as mind, the whole hero appears : the king of our hearts ; the king of our wishes !

Those who are dissatisfied with such a monarch, deserve to be abandoned of God, and have the devil sent to reign over them. Yet such there are, (pity they should wear human forms, or breathe the free air of Britain !) who are so scandalously fickle, that if God himself was to reign, they would

yearn after their darling monarch the prince of darkness.

These are they who fly in the face of majesty, who so abuse the liberty of the press, that from a benefit it becomes an evil, and demands immediate regulation.

Not against your majesty only, but against many of your loyal subjects, are arrows shot in the dark, by lurking villains who wound the reputations of the innocent in sport. Our public newspapers, which ought to contain nothing but what is instructive and communicative, being now become public nuisances, vehicles of personal, private slander, and scandalous pasquins.

Let the glory be yours, most gracious sovereign ! to suppress this growing evil ; and if any hints from your most faithful subject can be of the least use, I live but to serve, to admire, and pray for your majesty.

Who am,
Most gracious Sovereign,
Your Majesty's
Most loyal, most dutiful, most obedient
subject and servant,
ANDREW MORETON.

THE PREFACE.

NOTHING is more easy than to discover a thing already found out. This is verified in me and that anonymous gentleman, whom the public prints have lately complimented with a Discovery to Prevent Street Robberies ; though, by the by, we have only his vain *ipse dixit*, and the ostentatious outcry of venal newswriters in his behalf.

But to strip him of his borrowed plumes, these are to remind the public, that about six months ago, in a treatise, entitled, *Augusta Triumphans* : or, the Way to make London the most flourishing City in the Universe, I laid down a plain and practicable scheme for the total suppression and prevention of street robberies, which scheme has been approved of by several learned and judicious persons.

Oh ! but say the advocates of this second-hand schemist, our project is to be laid before the parliament. Does that make his better, or mine worse ? Have not many silly projects been laid before parliaments ere now ? Admit it be not the same (as I have but too much reason to fear it is,) —

cannot the members of both houses read print as well as written hand? Or does he think they are so prejudiced to dislike a thing the worse for being offered without view of gain? I trust Andrew Moreton's scheme, generously offered for the public good, will meet with as fair a reception as that of this hireling projector.

Mine is already published; let him generously follow my example, and no doubt, if his scheme be preferred, the government will reward him.

If my antagonist be necessitous, where is the merit? he does it for his own sake, not for the public. If he be not necessitous, what a sordid wretch is he to withhold his scheme for lucre? putting it up at public sale; so that if you do not give him his price you shall not have it.

Some people, indeed, are so fond of mysteries they run down everything that is plain and intelligible; they love darkness, whispers, and free-masonry, despising whatever comes in the shape of a pamphlet, be it never so useful or commendable. But in spite of prejudice, truth is the standard by which I hope all honest and impartial men will judge me.

Though I must confess I am not a little piqued to be jockeyed out of my labours, yet not to be behindhand with my gentleman in the clouds, who would have the parliament buy his pig in a poke, and build up his fortune at my expense, I have so amply enlarged and amended my scheme, that it is

now scarce like the same. I have taken in everything possible of comprehension or practice; nor have I left him room to edge in one single hint. I have debated the objections of divers wise and learned men, and corrected my project accordingly; so that, on comparison, my first thoughts will appear but as a rude and imperfect sketch, only valuable in that it gave the idea of this more laboured and finished performance, on which I pledge my whole reputation, being ready to stand or fall by its success.

In order to which, I have presented copies of this book to the king and queen's most excellent majesties, to several of the lords spiritual, and divers honourable and worthy members of both houses, and time must show whose scheme shall have the precedence.

In the mean time I stand prepared for the sneers of those who despise everything and everybody but their own dear selves, as also the objections of the puzzle causes, who will turry-lugg a thing out of all sense and meaning, and by the cloudiness of their explanations darken what is most plain and obvious. My business is to go straight forward, and let the end crown the work. If men of sense approve me, I need not value the laughter of fools, whose very approbation is scandal; for if a thinking man is to be laughed out of every good intention or invention, nothing will ever be done for the public good.

SECOND THOUGHTS, &c.

THE principal encouragement and opportunity given to our street robbers is, that our streets are so poorly watched ; the watchmen, for the most part, being decrepit, superannuated wretches, with one foot in the grave and the other ready to follow ; so feeble that a puff of breath can blow them down. Poor crazy mortals ! much fitter for an almshouse than a watchhouse. A city watched and guarded by such animals is wretchedly watched indeed.

Nay, so little terror do they carry with them, that hardy thieves make a mere jest of them, and oftentimes oblige even the very watchman who should apprehend, to light them in their roguery. And what can a poor creature do, in terror of his life, surrounded by a pack of ruffians, and no assistance near ?

Add to this, that our rogues are grown more wicked than ever, and vice in all kinds is so much winked at, that robbery is accounted a petty crime. We take pains to puff them up in their villainy, and thieves are set out in so amiable a light in the Beggar's Opera, it has taught them to value themselves on their profession rather than to be ashamed of it.

There was some cessation of street robberies,

from the time of Bunworth and Blewitt's execution, until the introduction of this pious opera. Now we find the Cartouchian villanies revived, and London, that used to be the most safe and peaceful city in the universe, is now become a scene of rapine and danger. If some of Cartouch's gang be not come over hither to instruct our thieves, we have, doubtless, a Cartouch of our own, and a gang which, if not suppressed, may be full as pernicious as was ever Cartouch's, and London may be as dangerous as Paris, if due care be not taken.

Not content with the mischief done by the Beggar's Opera, we must have a Quaker's Opera, forsooth, of much more evil tendency than the former; for in this Jack Shepherd is made the hero of the drama, and runs through such a scene of riot and success, that but too many weak minds have been drawn away, and many unwary persons so charmed with his appearance on the stage, dressed in that elegant manner, and his pockets so well lined, they have forthwith commenced street-robbers or house-breakers; so that every idle fellow, weary of honest labour, need but fancy himself a Macheath or a Shepherd, and there is a rogue made at once. Since, therefore, example, has such force, the stage ought to be reformed, and nothing exhibited but what might be represented before a bishop. They may be merry and wise: let them take the Provoked Husband for a pattern.

A good physician seeks the cause, and weighs the symptoms before he proceeds to prescribe; and if we trace this evil from its radix, we shall find a cause antecedent to the two operas aforesaid: namely, accursed Geneva, the bane and ruin of our lower class of people.

Those who deny an inferior class of people to be necessary in a body politic, contradict reason and

experience itself; since they are most useful when industrious, and equally pernicious when lazy. By their industry our manufactures, trade, and commerce, are carried on. The merchant in his counting-house, and the captain in his cabin, would find but little employment, were it not that many hands carried on the different branches of the concerns they superintended.

But now so far are our common people infatuated with Geneva, that half the work is not done now as formerly. It debilitates and enervates them, nor are they near so strong and healthy as formerly.

So that if this abuse of Geneva be not stopped, we may go whoop for husbandmen, labourers, &c.; trade must consequently stand still, and the credit of the nation sink. Nor is the abatement of the excise, though very considerable, and most worthy notice, any ways comparable to the corruption of manners, destruction of health, and all the train of evils we are threatened with from pernicious Geneva.

We will suppose a man able to maintain himself and family by his trade, and at the same time to be a Geneva drinker. This fellow first makes himself incapable of working by being continually drunk; which runs him behindhand, so that he either pawns, or neglects his work, for which reason nobody will employ him. At last, fear of arrests, his own hunger, the cries of a family for bread, his natural desire to support an irregular life, and a propense hatred to labour, turn but too many an honest tradesman into an arrant desperate rogue. And these are commonly the means that furnish us with thieves and villains in general.

Thus is a man, who might be useful in a body politic, rendered obnoxious to the same: so that if

this trade of wickedness goes on, they will increase upon us so much that we shall not dare to stir out of our habitations ; nay, it will be well if they arrive not to the impudence of plundering our houses at noonday.

Where is the courage of the English nation, that a gentleman, with six or seven servants, shall be robbed by one single highwayman ? Yet we have lately had instances of this ; and for this we may thank our effeminacy, our toupee wigs, and powdered pates, our tea, and other scandalous fopperies ; and, above all, the disuse of noble and manly sports, so necessary to a brave people, once in vogue, but now totally lost amongst us.

Let not the reader think I run from my subject if I search the bottom of the distemper before I propose a cure, which having done, though indeed but slightly, for this is an argument could be carried to a much greater length, I proceed to the purpose in manner following :—

Let the watch be composed of stout able-bodied men, and of those a sufficient number, that is to say, a watchman to every forty houses, twenty on it one side of the way, and twenty on the other ; for is observable that a man cannot well see distinctly beyond the extent of twenty houses in a row ; if it is a single row, and no opposite houses, the charge must be greater, or their safety less.

This man should be elected and paid by the housekeepers themselves, to prevent misapplication and abuse, so much complained of in the distribution of the public money.

He should be allowed ten shillings per annum by each housekeeper, which at forty houses, as above specified, amounts to 20*l.* per annum, almost treble to what is at present allowed ; and yet most house

keepers are charged at least 2s. 6d. a quarter to the watch, whose beat is, generally speaking, little less than the compass of half a mile.

What a shame it is that at least 100*l.* should be collected in some beats, and the poor watchman should not have the one-tenth part of the money? And this I leave to the consideration of any house-keeper who will take the pains to inquire into the extent of a watchman's beat, and after that cast up what is collected in the said beat, as they say for the watch. But this is a small abuse in comparison of other parochial misapplications, for a proof of which I refer my reader to a treatise of mine, entitled, *Parochial Tyranny*.

This salary of 20*l.* per annum is something of encouragement, and a pretty settlement for a poor man, who with frugality may live decently thereon, and by due rest be enabled to give due and vigilant attendance; that is to say, from evening dusk to morning light.

If a housekeeper break, or a house is empty, the poor watchman ought not to suffer, the deficiency should be made up by the housekeepers remaining.

The watch thus stationed, strengthened, and encouraged, let every watchman be armed with fire-arms and sword; and let no watchman stand above twenty doors distant from his fellow.

This has already been put in practice in the parish of St. Giles's in the Fields, and has had so good an effect that it is hoped other parishes will follow their example, which redounds not a little to the credit of our project.

Let each watchman be provided with a horn, to sound an alarm, or in time of danger; and let it be made penal, if not felony, for any but a watchman to sound a horn in and about the city,

from the time of their going on, to that of their going off.

I know an objection will be here made on account of the postboys, to obviate which, I had thoughts of a bell, but that would be too ponderous and troublesome for a watchman to carry, besides his arms and lantern; whereas a horn is portable, always ready, and most alarming.

Let the postboys therefore use some other signal, since this is most convenient to this more material purpose. They may carry a bell in a holster with ease, and give notice by that, as well as those who collect the letters.

That the watchmen may see from one end of their walks to the other, let a convenient number of lamps be set up, and those not of the convex kind, which blind the eyes, and are of no manner of use; they dazzle, but give no distinct light, and further, rather than prevent robberies. Many persons, deceived and blinded by these *ignes fatui*, have been run over by coaches, carts, &c., people stumbling more, even under these very lamps, than in the dark. In short, they are most unprofitable lights, and, in my opinion, rather abuses than benefits.

Besides, I see no reason why every ten housekeepers cannot find a lamp among themselves, which would be four lamps in a beat, and let their watchman dress it, rather than fatten a crew of directors.

But we are so fond of companies, it is a wonder we have not our shoes blacked by one, and a set of directors made rich at the expense of our very black-guards.

The watch ought to be in view, as well as in the hearing of each other, or they may be overpowered, and much danger may happen.

The streets being thus gloriously illuminated,

and so strongly guarded by stout and able fellows, well armed and well paid, all within the view of one another, proceed we to secure all by-turnings, courts, alleys, lanes, &c., which may favour a street-robber's escape, and make our project ineffectual.

A street, court, lane, alley, or other place, where the number of houses or poverty of the inhabitants will not afford a watchman on the terms before mentioned, should be gated in, and the inhabitants let in and out by the watchman of the street.

Where there are even but twelve houses in a court, and the inhabitants people of credit, they may have a separate watch to themselves, as is practised in Boswell-court by Lincoln's-inn-fields, Angel-court in Throckmorton-street, and many other places in London.

This I think an unexceptionable way to secure the cities and suburbs of London and Westminster. The only difficulty I can conceive is, that persons after dark may now and then go a little way round about by keeping the street way, but the pleasantness and safety occasioned by the lights and watch aforesaid, make ample amends. Let those go through byways, and in the dark, whose deeds are so ; I am for providing security for honest men, and obstacle for rogues.

And now we have put a stop to their roguery, let us endeavour to suppress the rogues themselves ; in order to which I shall begin with their harlots, who are, generally speaking, the first motives to their villainy, and egg them on to all manner of mischief.

And these are generally servant wenches, who stroll from place to place, and at last, weary of working, throw themselves on the public. To maintain these creatures, many a man turns rogue. It behoves the government, therefore, to oblige all

young wenches to keep in service. Masters and mistresses ought likewise to see that servants of both sexes go not a rambling when sent to church, but that they keep good hours ; for many have been ruined by junketing and staying out, instead of being at church or at home.

Our common women ought to be restrained in the liberties they have lately taken ; they openly swear and talk so obscenely, it is a shame to a Christian country.

Having fully handled this topic in two treatises, viz., Everybody's Business is Nobody's Business, and Parochial Tyranny, I shall not tire my readers with repetition, but referring them to the treatises themselves, return to my subject, which is,—

After we have reformed the ladies, let us take their sparks in hand. And first, let all shoe-cleaners, I mean boys and sturdy vagrants, be suppressed, according to my scheme in Everybody's Business, &c. ; as for link-boys, alias thieves with lights, there will be no need of them when the streets are illuminated, according to my project.

That sailors as well as soldiers may not give cause of suspicion, it is fit they should also be quartered after the same nature ; and more to enforce it, surveyors of quarters should have rounds allotted them.

These surveyors should call at the quarters of every soldier or sailor at a limited hour, to see if they are there or no, and register them at home or absent accordingly ; absence to be penal.

Every soldier or sailor leaving his quarters till morning, after he has been found at home and registered, should be punished.

I must be excused if I ward every obstacle, my design being to break up street-robbers, nest and egg.

And that thieves may not stroll about, under pretence of being destitute of lodging, barracks or barns should be built at convenient ends of the town, where all vagrants should be obliged to render themselves at a stated hour, where they should have clean straw allowed them, and be kept orderly and out of harm's way ; they may be let loose if they have apparent means of honest livelihood, otherwise they should be sent to the workhouse of their respective parish, or to a general workhouse, of which there is great need ; and of which more hereafter.

All publichouses and gin-shops, if they should be tolerated, should be shut up at ten.

If the government should think fit to tolerate gin-shops, I see no reason why they may not be subject to licenses, and come into the pot-act as well as alehouses ; especially considering there is as much gin as ale consumed nowadays.

Night houses and cellars, above all, should be totally suppressed ; these are the harbours and refuge of villains and strumpets ; these are their houses of call where there hellish trade is carried on ; it is here they wait for the signal of their scouts ; here they cast their schemes, and bring in advices ; here they encourage and initiate young thieves ; here they barter and sell their stolen goods ; these are their exchanges and asylums after mischief.

Hackney coach drivers next require our care ; they are the scum of the people, and, generally speaking, the worst of rogues.

So many and such frequent robberies can never be committed without the connivance of these villains ; and it is but too much to be feared, that at the same time they take up a fare they take up a robber, who is ready to mark his prey, and gets up either on the box or behind ; and alights at a convenient place to perpetrate his hellish design. As for a

'snack of the coal' as they term it, no doubt but the coachman and he have proper understanding and rendezvous.

Many who go to the coach-office nowadays, may be mistaken in their hopes of redress, not but the commissioners to a man treat complainants with the utmost civility; but the penalty, which used to be on the renter, being now on the driver, the renter or owner of that figure is clear, and the driver has nothing to do but to be absent and laugh at the complainant, an instance of which take in the following case:—

A hackney coachman took eighteenpence of a gentleman for a twelvepenny fare; the gentleman took his number and complained; the driver appeared, and was fined fifteen shillings, but the renter escaped; what was the result? The driver absconded, the gentleman sits down at his loss of attendance and money; had robbery or assault been the complaint, the consequence had been the same, the gentleman is but where he was. He has since called several times at the office, but to no purpose; all the answer he can get is, the fellow cannot be found. I write this therefore to undeceive those persons, who think when they have taken the number of a coach they can punish the driver for insolence or extortion.

The law in this case ought to be turned into its old channel, that is to say, the owner of the figure should be answerable; he ought to employ a driver he can answer for, or drive himself.

Every renter therefore should be obliged to register, and respond for his driver; or commissioners, figures, and all other forms, are to little purpose.

Beggars should next be suppressed, who lounge about all day, to see where they can steal at night.

It is a shame we should suffer real objects of charity to beg ; and for those who are not so, it is a shame but they should work.

I shall close all with these observations :—

That the extortions and cabals of tradesmen, by enhancing the prices of provisions, is most detrimental to a state, and worthy the notice of its legislature ; for men not being able to support their families by honest labour, and being made beggars by reason of the dearness of provisions, oftentimes grow desperate and turn rogues. This assertion is but too true, to prove which I appeal to the late conduct of

The coal merchants,

The bakers,

The butchers,

And, above all, the tallow chandlers.

The cabals of coal traders have for many years jockeyed us in the price of coals ; they have raised and fell them at pleasure, and made mere stock-jobbing work of it ; but never so much as in his late majesty's reign ; on a great impress for seamen, they, in less than a fortnight, raised the price of coals from twenty-three shillings to almost fifty. What a pinch must this be on the poor, who live only from hand to month, and buy their coals, poor souls ! some by the half peck.

The bakers are yet more flagrant and vile ; they turn plenty to famine, and push up the price of bread without rule or reason ; they have already been detected in one bite, i. e., procuring some of the fraternity to buy a small quantity of corn much above the market price, and then, by making oath thereof, abuse a well-intended law, and raise the price of bread accordingly.

Thus are the poor ground to dust, in order to fatten a pack of misers, who know no mercy. But

I hope the government will make them honest, even against their will.

The butchers are now so extravagant in their way of living, that usual and moderate profit will not content them ; they cannot drink malt liquor, and the poor must pay for the wine, which they swill down at an unmerciful rate.

The price of meat should therefore be regulated according to the price of cattle, but not according to the baker's rule afore mentioned.

But as for the tallow-chandlers, their oppressions call aloud for redress. To what an exorbitant pitch have they raised candles ; just double what it was some years ago : nay, they threaten to have them at tenpence per pound. How can the poor work when candles are so dear ? But we may thank our own luxury for these impositions. I see no reason why we should not humble these upstarts by making our own candles ; aye, and our own bread too, as our forefathers have done before us.

The tallow-chandlers, to excuse themselves, lay the fault on the melters. The melters shift it from themselves to the butchers ; and so the game goes round.

Oh but, say they, the government will lose part of its revenue : to which I answer, that rather than they shall raise candles to double their value, on pretence of paying a penny per pound excise ; in case the parliament will take off the duty on candles for the ease of the poor, I will present them with a project gratis, which shall bring in almost double the money now levied by candles, and that without the least hardship on the subject.

Having, I hope, taken sufficient care of street-robbers, I proceed now to clear the roads from highwaymen, footpads, &c.

Let parties of horse be stationed at all the out-

goings from the city of London ; so that if a coach, wagon, &c., want a convoy, two, three, or more may be detached by the commanding officer ; these shall be registered, and answerable for their charge ; and for encouragement shall receive so much per mile, or in the whole, convoy money.

This may be likewise practised from town to town all over England, so that the roads will be as safe as the streets ; and they who scruple the trifle of convoy money above proposed, merit not safety.

For those who walk on foot to the adjacent villages, parties of foot may be stationed in like manner ; so that not only the subject will be free from danger, but the soldier employed and prevented from corrupt measures by this additional perquisite to his pay.

Nothing remains but that robbers be prosecuted at the public charge ; the trials fixed to respective days, that prosecutors may not lose so much time, and the rewards paid in court without deduction or delay ; nor should any robber be admitted an evidence after he is taken, or pardoned after conviction.

END OF THE EIGHTEENTH VOLUME.